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LIFE OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON.*

There is something strangely capricious in the composition of biographies of distinguished men. Milton, Johnson, Pope and others even amongst the *Dii Minores* of literature, have had a host of biographers old and new; while of Chaucer, Shakspeare, Spenser, Newton, we have hitherto possessed no proper biographies. With Plutarch's Lives on our shelves, we cannot say, in explanation of the absence of early English Lives, that biography is the creature of modern literature. In respect to the absence of a proper Life of Newton, some reasons may be assigned. At first, the subject was known to be in the hands of Mr. Conduit, a nephew of Newton, who made certain Newtonian collections, but never put them to any use. Even of scientific men, not every one was capable of describing with the requisite accuracy of knowledge Newton's gigantic discoveries. Seldom is scientific accuracy found combined with literary and popular talent. So wonderfully had Newton outstripped the science of his day, that it took nearly half a century for the world to comprehend what he had done, and to take a few steps in advance of him. Some may have been deterred from meddling with the subject from fear of encountering certain delicate topics of theology, and of having to pronounce on the more than suspected heterodoxy of the great philosopher. The consequence was that one of the noblest subjects for biography was left in comparative neglect for a century and a quarter. Writers in Biographical Dictionaries and Cyclopædias continued to repeat the few facts and fictions which had been early put together without exact knowledge and published without authority. In 1831, Sir David Brewster made his first very imperfect essay in the biography of Newton; but at that time the Newton papers, which had through Lady Lymington become the property of the Earl of Portsmouth, were inaccessible to him. Not very remarkable were the additions then made to the knowledge respecting Newton; and when, two years after, Lord Brougham and his coadjutors in the Useful Knowledge Society wished to incorporate the Life of Newton with those of other eminent persons, they thought they could do nothing better

* Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton. By Sir David Brewster, K.H., &c. &c. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh—Constable and Co. 1855.

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than give a popular version of the Life composed by M. Biot for the "Biographie Universelle." At last, the Portsmouth papers have been opened to Sir David Brewster's inspection, and the result is the long-expected and not unwelcome book now before us.

Now that we have read his book, we can give more of confidence than admiration to Sir David Brewster as a writer of biography. All know that he is competent to write respecting both the past and the present state of science. He brings to his work a not small amount of enthusiasm. His style is accurate and generally respectable. Still the book is unnecessarily heavy. Large portions of any proper Life of the author of the *Principia* must of necessity be *caviare* to the general reader; but this is not the only or chief source of the weariness which steals over the reader of these ponderous octavo volumes. There is in the biographer an absence of that imaginative power by which a writer carries you into the midst of the times and persons concerning whom he writes. Content to tell all that may certainly be told respecting Newton himself, he does not master all the attainable knowledge respecting the men with whom Newton lived and talked. Sir David Brewster has intended, we dare say, to hold the balance justly amidst difficulties, but there is an absence of high courage in his work. He no longer repeats the statement which so greatly astonished men of candour of every party, avouching Newton's orthodoxy; but he does not fearlessly state the conclusion to which his dropping of his former decision shews that he has now come, but prints the evidence and tells the reader to pronounce the verdict. Still, as times go, and considering the influence which Bishops and Universities have over men in Sir David Brewster's position, we ought to congratulate ourselves on the abandonment of the system of suppression of disagreeable truth, and rejoice that we have lived to see documentary evidence sufficient to prove that Newton must be added to the roll of distinguished men, previously including Milton and Locke, who, cordially accepting Christianity, reject the doctrine of the Trinity. But it is not our intention in this article to enter on that branch of our subject. Reserving the topic of Newton's theological writings and religious opinions for distinct consideration in a future No., we propose now to give a brief sketch of the life of Newton, founded on Sir David Brewster's work, but shall gather as we proceed, from other biographical sources, a few illustrations of which he has to our surprise neglected to make adequate use.

Isaac Newton was born in the manor-house of Woolsthorpe, a Lincolnshire hamlet, lying six miles south of Grantham, on Christmas-day, 1642 (O.S.). There was at that time sorrow at Woolsthorpe, as well as anxiety and distraction in all England. The terrors of a civil war were abroad; and before the year closed, the neighbourhood of Grantham was the scene of military

conflicts, in one of which Cromwell won his earliest laurels. In another respect the time of Newton's birth was memorable. In the beginning of that same year, died that illustrious Florentine philosopher Galileo, who, it has been well said, "claimed and bequeathed to us the right of exercising our faculties in examining the beautiful creation which surrounds us." If science mourned the loss of this distinguished man, and blushed to recollect that his old age was saddened by a prison of the Inquisition because he dared to think "in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licencers thought," it would find comfort in the birth of a still greater philosopher, whose distinction it was to demonstrate the laws by which the Creator made and governs the universe. If the distinguished Florentines with whom, in the year 1638, our own Milton conversed, and who bemoaned the servile condition of Italian philosophers, could have foreseen the discoveries of Newton, they would indeed have rejoiced that he was "born in such a place of philosophic freedom as they supposed England was." *(Milton's Areopagitica.)*

Woolsthorpe had recently had sorrow upon sorrow. In 1641, Robert Newton, his grandfather, died. His son and successor in the manor, Isaac Newton (the father of Sir Isaac), married in the following year Hannah, daughter of James Ayscough, of Market Overton, in Rutlandshire. Their union lasted but a few months, and shortly before the birth of the philosopher, Isaac Newton, the father, died, and was buried in the neighbouring church of Colsterworth, October 6. Sorrow and anxiety may have occasioned the premature birth of the posthumous child, whose size was so diminutive, and whose constitution appeared so hopelessly feeble, that some women who were sent soon after his birth to a neighbour's for medicine, scarcely expected when they returned to Woolsthorpe to find the babe alive. The life which seemed at first a scarcely visible spark, was too precious for Providence to allow it to be extinguished before it had accomplished its allotted work; it presently became a vigorous flame, and continued to burn and shine during more than three-quarters of a century. This is not the only instance of long life following a premature birth and a feeble infancy. The late Bishop Bathurst was prematurely born, and so small and feeble at birth that it was some weeks before he could be dressed like other children. Yet he lived to be ninety-three. The life of Gibbon seemed during his infancy so precarious, that his father gave the family name of Edward to other sons, in order that the patronymic appellation might not be lost to the family by the expected death of the eldest son. Yet, like Pope (also delicate from infancy), he approached sixty years. Addison and Johnson were both baptized on the day of their birth; the former, "weak and unlikely to live" from his birth, died before he was fifty; but the latter long survived the *threescore years and ten.* The feeble

struggle for life in the infant Isaac Newton, may have occasioned his early baptism on the eighth day after birth. This is the record in the register of Colsterworth church: "Isaac, sonne of Isaac and Hanna Newton, baptized Jan. 1."

The family of Newton was descended from the eldest branch of the family of Sir John Newton, of Westby, in the county of Lincoln. Originally coming from Lancashire, they removed to Woolsthorpe from Westby. Sir David Brewster, with national prepossession, speaks of another descent from a Scotch family in East Lothian. The means at the command of Newton's mother were small. The manor which was her son's patrimony was worth £30 per annum. She had a small estate on the borders of Leicestershire of the value of £50 per annum. Isaac Newton, the father, had followed farming, and the widow probably continued in the employment in order to increase the means of supporting herself and educating her son. It would have been a hard struggle had not she been induced to re-enter the marriage state. Her excellent conduct had drawn upon her the admiring eyes of her neighbours. But the story must be told in the language of Mr. Conduit:

"Mr. Smith, a neighbouring clergyman, who had a very good estate, had lived a bachelor till he was pretty old, and one of his parishioners advising him to marry, he said he did not know where to meet with a good wife. The man answered, the widow Newton is an extraordinary good woman. But, saith Mr. Smith, how do I know she will have me, and I don't care to ask and be denied; but if you will go and ask her, I will pay you for your day's work. He went accordingly. Her answer was, she should be advised by her brother Ayscough. Upon which Mr. Smith sent the same person to Mr. Ayscough on the same errand, who, upon consulting with his sister, treated with Mr. Smith, who gave her son Isaac a parcel of land, being one of the terms insisted upon by the widow if she married him."—Vol. I. p. 6, note.

The second husband of Mrs. Newton was the Rev. Barnabas Smith, rector of North Witham, and the marriage took place Jan. 27, 1645. This event deprived Newton of his mother's personal care, and her duties devolved on his grandmother, Mrs. Ayscough. Happily, he had already outgrown the weakness of his birth, and was developing some strength of constitution. At the customary age he was sent to two day-schools in neighbouring hamlets, where he acquired the rudiments of an English education. When he was twelve years of age, it was necessary to provide him with better instruction, and he was sent to the neighbouring market and borough town of Grantham. The free grammar-school of this place, founded by Bishop Fox, a favourite of Henry VII., and augmented by Edward VI., was at this time taught by one Henry Stokes, who had been previously the master of Melton school. The master was required by the statute of the school to be "well instructed and skilled in Latin

and Greek literature," and Stokes appears to have been a good teacher. Newton was boarded during his schooling at Grantham in the house of an apothecary of the name of Clarke.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, considering the intellectual and literary aptitude and genius afterwards developed by Newton, that his early course at Grantham school was far from satisfactory. He was inattentive to study, and took a very low rank amongst the scholars. The human intellect seems to unfold itself at very different periods of life. When the parent and teacher remember that at one period of their career Newton was idle and ignorant, Paley indolent and frivolous, Sheridan deplorably dull, and Wellington trifling and silly, they never ought to despair of any pupil, however obtuse his intellect may at the outset of education appear, or however scanty his attainments may for a time be. Not less extraordinary, considering the gentle character which afterwards belonged to Newton, was the influence which provoked him to exertion. We give the story in the biographer's words, only further remarking that it should, according to ordinary reasoning, have been an incident in the life of a Clive or a Nelson, or a strong polemic like Warburton or Horsley, rather than the turning-point in the intellectual history of the wisest and calmest philosopher.

"When he was the last in the lowermost form but one, the boy next above him, as they were going to school, gave him a kick on the stomach, which occasioned a great degree of pain. As soon as the scholars were dismissed, Newton challenged the boy to fight, and for this purpose they went into the churchyard. The schoolmaster's son came up to them during the fight, and 'clapping one on the back and winking to the other,' encouraged them both to continue the encounter. Though Sir Isaac was not so robust as his antagonist, yet he had much more spirit and resolution, and therefore succeeded in the combat, beating his opponent till he declared he would fight no more. The schoolmaster's son, who seems to have been an amateur in the art, told Sir Isaac that he must treat the other as a coward by rubbing his nose against the wall. The victor accordingly took the advice, and dragging his victim by the ears, thrust his face against the wall of the church. The success which thus attended his first struggle for superiority, induced him to repeat it in a better cause. Although vanquished in the churchyard, his antagonist still stood above him in the school, a victory more honourable than that which Newton had achieved; and though the schoolmaster and his son would have given a different decision on the relative merits of the youthful combatants, yet Newton took the right view of his own position, and resolved to possess the moral as well as the physical superiority. He accordingly exerted himself in the preparation of his lessons, and after many a severe struggle in which he and his adversary were alternately successful, he not only gained the individual victory, but rose to the highest place in the school."—I. 7, 8.

The account given us of Newton's amusements during his school days, and of their influence in directing his thoughts into

that course in which he afterwards attained such glory, is an interesting story, and opens an important chapter in the philosophy of education. Had the instructions of Henry Stokes in Grantham school included mechanics and natural philosophy as well as Latin and Greek, and if, in addition, he had possessed sufficient genius to have anticipated the Pestalozzian principle of calling in the aid of the senses to develop the intellect by lessons on objects, it is probable that Newton would never have had to confess to Mr. Conduit that at first he was an idle, thoughtless pupil.

"He had not been long at school before he exhibited a taste for mechanical inventions. With the aid of little saws, hammers, hatchets, and tools of all sorts, he was constantly occupied during his play hours in the construction of models of known machines, and amusing contrivances. The most important pieces of mechanism which he thus constructed, were a wind-mill, a water-clock, and a carriage to be moved by the person who sat in it. When a wind-mill was in the course of being erected near Grantham, on the way to Gunnerby, Sir Isaac frequently watched the operations of the workmen, and acquired such a thorough knowledge of its mechanism, that he completed a working model of it, which Dr. Stukely says was 'as clean and curious a piece of workmanship as the original.' This model was frequently placed upon the top of the house in which he lived at Grantham, and was put in motion by the action of the wind upon its sails. In calm weather, however, another mechanical agent was required, and for this purpose a mouse was put in requisition, which went by the name of the miller. It does not distinctly appear how the mouse was compelled to perform a function so foreign to its ordinary habits, but it was supposed to act upon something like a tread-wheel when attempting to reach some corn placed above it; or, according to another supposition, it was placed within a wheel, and by pulling a string tied to its tail, it went forward 'by way of resistance,' as Dr. Stukely observes, and thus turned the mill.

"The water-clock constructed by Sir Isaac was a more useful piece of mechanism than his wind-mill. It was made out of a box which he begged from Mrs. Clark's brother, and, according to Dr. Stukely, to whom it was described by those who had seen it, 'it resembled pretty much our common clocks and clock-cases,' but was less in size, being about four feet in height, and of a proportional breadth. There was a dial-plate at top with figures of the hours. The index was turned by a piece of wood, which 'either fell or rose by water dropping.' The clock stood in Sir Isaac's bed-room, and it was his daily practice to supply it every morning with the proper quantity of water. It was frequently resorted to by the inmates of Mr. Clark's house to ascertain the hour of the day, and it remained there long after Sir Isaac went to Cambridge. Dr. Stukely informs us, that having had occasion to talk of clepsydræ, or water-clocks, Newton remarked, that their chief inconvenience arose from the furring up of the small hole through which the water passed, by the impurities which it contained,—a cause of inequality in its measure of time, the reverse of what takes place in clocks made with sand, which enlarges the hole through which it descends.

"The mechanical carriage which Sir Isaac is said to have invented,

was a four-wheeled vehicle, and was moved with a handle or winch wrought by the person who sat in it. We can find no distinct information respecting its construction or use, but it must have resembled a Merlin's chair, which is fitted only to move on the smooth surface of a floor, and not to overcome the inequalities of a common road.

"Although Sir Isaac was at this time a 'sober, silent, and thinking lad,' who never took part in the games and amusements of his schoolfellows, but employed all his leisure hours in 'knocking and hammering in his lodging room,' yet he was anxious to please them by 'inventing diversions for them above the vulgar kind.' In this way he often succeeded in alluring them from trifling amusements, and teaching them, as Dr. Stukely says, 'to play philosophically;' or, as Dr. Paris has better expressed it, in the title of his charming little work, to make 'philosophy in sport science in earnest.' With this view he introduced the flying of paper kites, and he is said to have investigated their best forms and proportions, as well as the number and position of the points to which the string should be attached. He constructed also lanterns of 'crimpled paper,' in which he placed a candle, to light him to school in the dark winter mornings; and in dark nights he tied them to the tails of his kites, in order to terrify the country people, who took them for comets."—I. 8—11.

It is a very important thing in education to interest a pupil. Much that is called education consists in resolutely *thwarting* nature. Let the child's bias be carefully watched, and, when found, followed and helped, and good results will follow. The workshop and the laboratory may, in the hands of a good instructor, be made to combine the best education of the faculties with the pleasantest relaxation from other and necessary toil. The taste for models should always be encouraged. It may spring from a mere faculty of imitation; but difficulties will arise and set the intellect to work, and the philosopher in sport is enticed on till he masters the principles of science.

"Hitherto the attention of Sir Isaac had not been directed to any of the celestial phenomena, and when he did study the apparent daily motion of the sun, he was probably led to it by the imperfect measure of time which he obtained from his water-clocks. In the yard of the house where he lived, he was frequently observed to watch the motion of the sun. He drove wooden pegs into the walls and roofs of the buildings, as gnomons to mark by their shadows the hours and half hours of the day. It does not appear that he knew how to adjust these lines to the latitude of Grantham; but he is said to have succeeded, after some years' observation, in making them so exact, that anybody could tell what o'clock it was by *Isaac's Dial*, as it was called. It was probably at the same time that he carved two dials on the walls of his own house at Woolsthorpe; but though we have seen them there, we were not able to determine whether they were executed by a tentative process like those in Mr. Clark's yard, or were more accurately projected, from a knowledge of the doctrine of the sphere."—I. 11.

Newton's school studies were interrupted in his fifteenth year

by the death of his stepfather, the Rev. Barnabas Smith. The widow was left with three children by her second marriage. Leaving of necessity the home she had found in the rectory of North Withiam, she returned to Woolsthorpe, which her late husband had rebuilt. The farm had to be cultivated and its produce to be disposed of. Isaac was summoned from school to learn and practise the duties of a grazing farmer. But he was no longer the heedless lad who, three years previously, could fight better than he could learn. That clear and powerful intellect which was created to analyze and explain the principles of the material universe, had awoke and was in constant exercise. The daily management of the farm, and the weekly duties of the market-town, could not interest him. The sheep and the fields were untended, while the young farmer was poring over a chosen book or constructing a curious model; and instead of performing his duties in the market-house of Grantham or in the stores of the tradesmen, he was rumaging amongst a store of old books which lay in the garret of his friend the apothecary.

To the names of Bacon, Descartes, Hobbes and Gray, whom Mr. D'Israeli has mentioned as exhibiting in the faint lines of their youth an unsteady outline of the man, that of Newton may be added. The widow Smith, in her ignorance of her son's aptitude and powers, made that ludicrous experiment, which so many other parents have made, of endeavouring to stick the round man into the three-cornered hole. But unlike some other parents and teachers of gifted children (such as Pascal, Petrarch, Racine, Alfieri), she did not obstinately continue the course of which experience shewed the imprudence. Finding that neither the thoughts nor the talk of her remarkable son could be bent down to bullocks, pastures, fairs and markets, she wisely took counsel with her friends what to do with him. The bookishness of the youth, subsequently to his return to Grantham school, led her to ask the advice of her brother William, beneficed in the neighbouring rectory of Burton Coggles. The worthy clergyman had surprised his nephew studying under a hedge a mathematical problem. He advised that the youth should be prepared for the University of Cambridge, which had been his own alma mater. Altogether Newton passed six or seven years at Grantham. Amongst other things which he learnt during that period was the art of drawing, in which he made sufficient progress to copy heads and even to draw them from the life. His room was adorned by portraits, drawn and framed by himself, of Dr. Donne, Charles I., and his teacher Mr. Stokes. No elegant paper-hangings were then to be seen in provincial towns; these costly imports of Spain and Holland were in the seventeenth century only found in palaces and the mansions of the nobility; but Newton adorned his whitened walls with figures skilfully drawn in charcoal; here was a human face, there a

bird or the figure of a wild beast, or a ship, or some mathematical diagram which had especially interested him.

Sir David Brewster makes no mention of the religious influences which actuated Newton during his residence in Grantham. But the lines which he penned under the portrait of Charles I., in which a contrast is carried on between the crown first of thorns and then of glory and "earth's crown," is of itself, independently of other considerations, sufficient to shew that, before he went to Cambridge, Newton's mind was seriously religious. Mention should therefore be made of the clergyman on whose services it is probable Newton attended during a very critical period of his life. The church of Grantham is a beautiful Gothic structure of the thirteenth century, dedicated to St. Wolfran, the lofty spire of which has for ages won the admiration of the traveller on the great North road. Here, during Newton's school days, the officiating clergymen were Mr. John Angel, a noted divine of the Puritan school, and Mr. Henry Vaughan and Mr. John Starkey. The two last named were afterwards ejected for Nonconformity, the one from the vicarage, and the other from the lecture established in 1642 by the Viscountess Dowager Camden. Puritanism was in the seventeenth century the prevalent form of religious thought in Grantham, as appeared from the conduct of the parishioners in opposing their vicar Titly, in 1627, respecting the placing of the altar in the chancel, which led to the great altar controversy in which Archbishop Williams, Heylyn and Pocklington took part. Henry Vaughan was a preacher of considerable repute, strongly opposed to Cromwell's government, but received from Baxter the praise of being "an able, sober, godly, judicious, moderate man of great worth." John Starkey was not a common man. Dr. Bates said of him that he was fit for the best auditory in England. Some of his MSS. are now before us, marked by him as having been preached at Grantham and afterwards at Ormskirk, whither he for a time retired after his ejectment. They are sensible and earnest sermons, and derive additional interest from the probability of having been preached before Newton. It is a natural conjecture that the persecution and sufferings which these excellent men endured, made an impression on the mind of Newton not favourable to the Church of which in after life he was only nominally a member. But there was another circumstance which probably connected Isaac Newton in his boyhood with the church of Grantham. Over the porch there was an ancient library, given for the use of both clergy and people at the beginning of that century by Francis Trigge, the Puritan clergyman of the neighbouring parish of Welbourne, himself an author of not mean powers. With his avidity for books, it is scarcely conceivable that Newton did not make himself familiar with the treasures of this library of the porch. Sir David Brewster takes no notice whatever of the circumstance.

There were influences of a different kind to which Newton was subject at Grantham. At the house of his friends the Clarkes, who appear to have been persons of worth and cultivation, he enjoyed the high advantage of interesting female society. Miss Storey, one of the inmates of the house, a daughter of Mr. Clarke's second wife, was a few years younger than Newton, gifted with beauty of person and more than the usual allotment of female talents. There were some tender passages between this young lady and the Grantham scholar, which were renewed during his early college life; but the course of their love did not run smooth, and, though not insensible to the attentions of her first lover, Miss Storey became the bride of another, after it became apparent that her small portion and Newton's slender estate would not furnish them the means of life and comfort, and that it would be an act of unwarrantable imprudence in him to quit for the married state the advantages of his fellowship. The lady was twice married, and in the evening of a long life reverted with a tender melancholy, not unmixed with pride, to her disappointment sixty years before. Newton's regard for her continued unabated, and he not only visited her whenever he was at Woolsthorpe, but he found a pleasure in pecuniary liberality towards her, which the circumstances of her family rendered not unacceptable. Neither his school studies nor his social intimacies could prevent his continued attention to natural philosophy.

"Sir Isaac himself told Mr. Conduit that one of the earliest scientific experiments which he made was in 1658, on the day of the great storm when Cromwell died, and when he himself had just entered into his sixteenth year. In order to determine the force of the gale he jumped first in the direction in which the wind blew, and then in opposition to the wind; and after measuring the length of the leap in both directions, and comparing it with the length to which he could jump in a perfectly calm day, he was enabled to compute the force of the storm. Sir Isaac added, that when his companions seemed surprised at his saying that any particular wind was a foot stronger than any he had known before, he carried them to the place where he had made the experiment, and showed them the measure and marks of his several leaps. This mode of jumping to a conclusion, or reaching it *per saltum*, was not the one which our philosopher afterwards used. Had he, like Coulomb, employed a shred of paper instead of his own person, and observed the time that it took to fly through a given distance, he would have obtained a better substitute for an anemometer."—I. 15, 16.

At length the arrangements for his entrance at the University were complete. His departure from Grantham was marked by those honours which are awarded in grammar-schools to pupils of distinguished merit. The venerable master, Mr. Stokes, placed him in a conspicuous part of the school, and, with tears in his eyes, addressed his scholars on the merits of the companion about to leave them, and held up to them his example as worthy of their admiration and imitation. Perhaps the good old man dwelt

on other names connected with the school,* such as Cecil, Lord Burleigh, England's wisest and most prosperous Minister, who during nearly half the previous century had with a clear head and with a firm hand guided the public councils of his country, and Henry More, the Platonist, who had already distinguished himself by his writings, and whose virtues and talents and modesty had won for him the admiration of both theologians and philosophers.

The records of the University of Cambridge shew that Isaac Newton entered Trinity College in June, 1661 (and not in 1660, as his biographers have hitherto stated), and the narrowness of his circumstances at that time is proved by his taking the humble position of a subsizar, i. e. candidate for a sizarship. We may explain that this was the lowest class of students. Sizars paid smaller fees both to the University and their College, were charged less for their tuition, and derived pecuniary benefits from the foundation. The fellows dined at a separate table and were waited on by sizars, who also performed other menial services, and in return for these dined upon the remains of the fellows' dinner. At Trinity College there are express foundations for sixteen sizars.† In about a month, Newton's candidateship was successful; and on the 8th of July, he matriculated as a sizar of Trinity College. The University that thus admitted by one of its humbler wickets the scholar from Grantham, a few years after, in addition to its more customary honours, gave him a professorship, in better times elected him one of its representatives in Parliament, and now points to him with an honest pride as, among a long catalogue of distinguished sons, the greatest and the best.‡

Of Newton's studies at Cambridge far less is known than a natural curiosity craves. No blue books reveal to us the state of the University, and the excellence or defects of its discipline and course of study in 1661. No studious and enthusiastic recluse has done for the sister University what Anthony Wood did for Oxford, and given us an Athænæ or a Fasti Cantabrigienses, or we might have gathered from them much interesting information respecting Newton's undergraduate years, his tutor Pulleyn, and his companions in study and competitors for honours. Sir David Brewster has done little or nothing to illustrate Newton's academic history, beyond repeating, with one or two corrections, the slender facts collected by preceding writers. As a nursery

* In subsequent times, Grantham school educated Dr. John Newcome, the master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Colley Cibber, the hero of the Dunciad.

† There are now thirty-two sizars at Trinity College, but the menial offices once required from this class of students are abolished.

‡ In the ante-chapel of the College, Dr. Smith, one of the masters of Trinity College, erected a noble statue of Newton, executed by Roubiliac, and the pedestal bears this inscription:

Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit.

of science, Cambridge did not give large promise at the time when Newton entered Trinity College. One of the first things consequent on the Restoration, was the ejection from the mastership of Trinity College* of Dr. John Wilkins (afterwards Bishop of Chester), a man equally deserving of honour for his love of science and his religious toleration, at a time when intolerance was the highway to office.† There was at that time no Lucasian Professorship of Mathematics. Isaac Barrow had indeed just been elected a Professor, but his first appointment was to the Greek chair. The prevailing temper of the kingdom, from which the Universities were not entirely free, was contempt for everything serious,—a violent but temporary reaction against Puritan severity. But the University of Cambridge, it must be admitted, more than fulfilled the promise it gave at the time of the Restoration. The Lucasian chair of Mathematics was established during Newton's undergraduate years, and, to the great advantage of the University, Dr. Isaac Barrow was elected its first Professor. Contemplating Newton's want of scientific preparation when he went to the University, Sir David Brewster remarks, with somewhat of exaggeration, that he carried with him to college "a more slender portion of science than at his age falls to the lot of ordinary scholars;" and proceeds to say,

"Cambridge was consequently the real birth-place of Newton's genius. Her teachers fostered his earliest studies,—her institutions sustained his mightiest efforts,—and within her precincts were all his discoveries made and perfected. When he was called to higher official functions, his disciples kept up the pre-eminence of their master's philosophy, and their successors have maintained this seat of learning in the fulness of its glory, and rendered it the most distinguished among the universities of Europe."—I. 20.

But we must not from this rounded period of the biographer draw the conclusion that Newton derived all the aid he had a right to anticipate from his teachers at Cambridge. Of his tutor we do not gather a very high opinion from the statement that the pupil found that, from his private reading of Sanderson's Logic (a copy of which had been given him by his uncle Ayscough), he knew more of the subject than his tutor. When he betook himself to mathematics (the first incitement to that study

* The masters of Trinity College during Newton's undergraduate course were, 1. Dr. Henry Ferne, who had received a patent from Charles I. to succeed to the office,—a reward for his being the first, when the troubles began, to wield the pen in the Royal cause. 2. Dr. John Pearson. Both were Bishops of Chester, and the name of the latter has a permanent place amongst the contributors to the literature of the Church of England, by his Exposition of the Creed.

† Of the eminent men who adorned the University of Cambridge during the Protectorate, Mr. Crossley has well observed in his Preface to the Diary of Dr. John Worthington, "Nor do the annals of the English Church, throughout all its period, present a galaxy more resplendent than the admirable band of men, united in close sympathies and common views in matters of faith and practice, who adorned the University of Cambridge at that period."

he gained from a book on Judicial Astrology which he bought at Stourbridge fair), he thought Euclid so easy as not to deserve his study, and he betook himself to the Geometry of Descartes, in which he found difficulties enough to thwart and for a time baffle him; but, unaided, he conquered them all. He afterwards perceived and regretted his want of system and a good foundation in his mathematical studies; and when he presented himself in his third year at Cambridge as a candidate for a scholarship in his college, Dr. Barrow detected the candidate's want of accurate knowledge of Euclid. He gained the scholarship, and afterwards, acting on the suggestions of the Lucasian Professor, studied Euclid with the necessary care, and found more to reward his attention than his desultory reading had previously led him to suppose. But from these errors he ought to have been protected by the care and better knowledge of Mr. Pulleyn, his tutor. In behalf of Newton's tutor it may be pleaded that, though weak in logic and not strong in mathematics, he was a good Grecian, for we find that he was elected Regius Greek Professor of the University in 1674. In the third year of his Cambridge course, Newton overtasked his strength by the eagerness with which he pursued his studies. He suffered particularly from night studies. To these he was in part led by the appearance of a comet which passed its perihelion, Dec. 4, 1664, and the progress of which he watched with untiring avidity. The illness which followed taught him the lesson, which solitary students are so loth to learn, of the value of early hours both of retirement to rest and of rising.

In January, 1665, Newton took his Bachelor's degree. Our natural curiosity to learn the rank he took in graduation is baulked, as the records of the University do not give the order of seniority of the Bachelors of that year. The examiners who assisted the proctors were John Eachard, well known by his satirical "Grounds of Contempt of the Clergy," and Thomas Gipps, afterwards rector of Bury, in Lancashire, a writer of violent pamphlets against his Dissenting neighbours. Newton's studies were not even at this early period confined to scholastic matters; for Sir David Brewster has discovered proofs, in an early waste or commonplace book, that in the years 1664 and 1665 he had paid considerable attention to theology.

Newton's studies at Cambridge were interrupted in the autumn of 1665, by the breaking out of the plague. Early in August the students were dismissed, and two months after (Oct. 8) a correspondent of Dr. Worthington wrote, "The plague at Cambridge, I fear, increases. * * Cambridge is almost disuniversitied, and either there will be no winter term, or nothing to do in it." Newton retired to his native place, and in peaceful and profound studies passed through that time of danger and terror unharmed. It was during this retirement at Woolsthorpe that

the simple event occurred which suggested to Newton the idea of gravity. As the swinging a lamp in the cathedral of Pisa suggested to Galileo the doctrine of the vibrations of the pendulum, which afterwards led to the construction of the pendulum clock, so the accidental falling of an apple from a tree in the orchard led Newton, meditating on the power of gravity, to discover the great law of the universe by which planets are kept in their orbits. The tree from which this wonder-working apple fell, was preserved with reverential care till 1820, when its decay necessitated its being taken down, but its wood is still preserved as a philosophical relic. Several times did the pestilence reappear at Cambridge, and force the temporary withdrawal of the students. It was on his return to the University, in the autumn of 1667, that he was elected Minor Fellow, and an apartment was assigned him by the Master (Dr. Pearson), supposed to be "the ground-room next the chapel in the north-east corner of the great court."

The precise course of Newton's studies and discoveries at Cambridge is not known. Certain, however, it is that, while mastering the mere elements of science, his gigantic mind sprung forward, as it were by intuition, to some of the grand truths, the subsequent demonstration of which has immortalized his name. What common men master after laborious study and painful mental effort, he appeared to grasp at first sight; and the profundities of science which tasked the intellect even of the philosophers of his day, he received as though they were the mere rudiments of knowledge. What throws a very pleasing light upon the student life of Newton is its unaffected simplicity. His book of expenses shews him to have been, amidst his course of profound study and brilliant discovery, a simple-hearted, kindly youth, abounding in all the charities of life, and as free from austerity as was compatible with perfect purity of character. Amidst entries of the cost of philosophical instruments and books, there appear those of loans to friends, of the purchase of presents for his half-sister and for his cousin Ayscough, of moderate tavern entertainments, of journeys to London and into the country, and even on two occasions of losses at cards. On the 16th of March, 1668, he took his degree of M. A. The list contained the names of 148 graduates. Newton's position in it, an honourable one for an ordinary man, excites one's surprise, and we can scarcely understand how it happened that twenty-two graduates were thought worthy of taking rank above him. This University document bears the signature, as senior Proctor, of Thomas Burnet,* afterwards a friend of Newton, Tillotson and Addison,

* This distinguished philosopher and theologian, who, according to Addison, aided by "the lights of reason and revelation, traced the steps of Omnipotence," was denounced by the clergy of his day as a heretic. One of his heresies was the disbelief of the doctrine (fatal to a rational Theism) of eternal torments.

and praised by the latter for the purity of his style and the sublimity of his genius.

We possess a document, bearing date 1669, which is of some interest as indicating the direction of Newton's studies. It is a letter of advice to his young friend Francis Aston (afterwards Fellow and Secretary of the Royal Society), advising him respecting his demeanour in the course of foreign travel, and the special inquiries he should make abroad. As the production of a young man of twenty-six years of age, we must regard it (notwithstanding Sir David Brewster's remark to the contrary) as evincing considerable "way wisdom" (to use a good Puritan phrase), as well as knowledge of the human heart. The scientific hints contained in the letter are curious, as revealing not only Newton's early taste for chemical studies, but as shewing that these studies were at this time tinged with the dreamy colours of alchemy. We have, however, in the same year a remarkable attestation to Newton's mathematical repute in his college. Dr. Isaac Barrow, who six years previously had occasion to censure his want of acquaintance with Euclid, now writes admiringly of him to their common friend Mr. Collins, as "a young man with an unparalleled genius, who had made very great progress in mathematics, and particularly in the analysis of equations." Before the close of the year, Newton received the first markedly public reward of his mathematical attainments by being appointed to succeed Dr. Barrow in the Lucasian Professorship. Our Universities are sometimes taunted with the indifference they have shewn to, and even the indignities they have put upon, some of their most gifted sons. Cambridge has to bear the imputation of Milton's indifference and disgust. It is certainly answerable for the miserable bigotry of depriving Whiston of his Professorship, and expelling him from the University, on account of his religious opinions; as it also is, and on the same grounds, of forbidding the lectures of Sir James E. Smith on Botany. On the sister University the imputation still hangs of having offered the greatest indignity in its power to Locke. Let it, however, be remembered to the honour of Cambridge, that it was prompt to discover, and to reward with the suitable honours, the genius of Newton, and that its patronage and its calm academic retirement enabled him to enter on and successfully pursue that brilliant career of discovery which forms the most glorious era of English science. Even before his appointment as Professor, Newton had developed some of the results of his optical studies, and of his experiments on the prism which he had bought at Stourbridge fair, soon after he first went to Cambridge. Sir David Brewster has given a beautifully clear narrative of the successive and cautious steps by which Newton reached the grand conclusion that light was not homogeneous, but consisted of rays of different refrangibility. He

had in the autumn of 1668 succeeded in constructing a reflecting telescope. A second instrument, also made by his own hands, was still more successful, magnifying the image formed by the speculum 38 times. This instrument attracted the attention of the Royal Society. It was presented to that body, by them was described in their Transactions and shewn to the King, and is still carefully preserved, with an inscription, in their Library.

Sir David Brewster gives a very interesting account of the progress of the telescope from the days of Newton to Lord Rosse, with his magnificent instrument with a speculum of 6 feet diameter and an area of surface of 5184 square inches, and adds,

"In looking back on what the telescope has accomplished since the time of Newton, and in reflecting on the vast depths of ether which have been sounded;—on the number of planetary bodies which have been added to our system, and on the extensive fields of sidereal space which have been explored, can we hesitate to believe it to be the Divine plan that man shall yet discover the whole scheme of the visible universe, and that it is his individual duty, as well as his high prerogative, to expound its mysteries and to develop its laws? Over the invisible world he has received no commission to reign, and into its secrets he has no authority to pry. It is over the material and the visible that he has to sway the intellectual sceptre,—it is among the structures of organic and inorganic being that his functions of combination and analysis are to be chiefly exercised. However great have been the achievements of the past, and however magnificent the instruments to which we owe them, the limits of telescopic vision have not been reached, and space has yet marvellous secrets to surrender."—I. 66.

Newton's telescope procured for him in January, 1672, a Fellowship in the Royal Society, a scientific corporation which had started into existence contemporaneously with the restoration of monarchy, and was now enjoying the ninth year of its Royal Charter. It is somewhat remarkable that this compliment was paid to Newton by the Royal Society simply on the score of his telescope, and in entire ignorance of the important discoveries respecting the refrangibility of light which for three years the Lucasian Professor had been developing in lectures delivered within sixty miles of the metropolis. This startling fact leads one to suspect that the brilliant picture which Mr. Macaulay has drawn of the aptitude for science in England at this period of its history, owes some of its brighter colours to fancy. But the fact leads us to reflect on the admirable and almost sublime patience of the young philosopher, who, though conscious how far he had outstripped the science of his times, calmly deferred to a distant day the publication of his discoveries beyond the walls of his lecture-room. How different this from the impatient bustle of modern discoverers! Let a German astronomer of our days imagine that he has discovered a planet, and he instantly makes the fact blaze along the wires of the electric telegraph,

and, through the aid of the *Times* newspaper, asks for the admiration of the world.

The intimation of his election as a Fellow, and the thanks of the Society for the communication of his telescope, were contained in the same letter, and were accompanied by an assurance that they would take the proper means for securing to him the honour of his invention. He modestly expressed in reply his surprise at the care they were taking of an invention which he himself had little prized and long neglected.

To the Royal Society, Newton now communicated his discoveries respecting Light. They were received by that learned body with high honour, were immediately printed in their Transactions, and the subject referred to a committee composed of Mr. Boyle, Dr. Hook and Seth Ward, the Bishop of Salisbury.

Newton's discoveries respecting light and colour were no sooner made known to the world, than they were attacked, both abroad and at home, with a virulence which would be unaccountable, were it not for what Sir David Brewster calls "the inconceivable stupidity of the men who called in question his results." So persecuted and harassed was he with the long-continued and bitter controversies which arose out of his theory of Light, that he confessed to Leibnitz in 1675, that he blamed his own imprudence for parting with so substantial a blessing as his quiet, to run after a shadow. With a disposition little adapted to receive or return the asperities of controversy, he began to think of quitting the study of philosophy and of betaking himself to the law, saying that he perceived that a man must either resolve to put out nothing new, or to become a slave to defend it. There is a traditional story of Newton's having unsuccessfully stood for a Law Fellowship at Cambridge, which became vacant in 1673, and was awarded to another by his friend Dr. Barrow, on the ground of his competitor's seniority of years and *equality in literary attainments*. The latter part of the story sounds scarcely probable, and we would rather, instead of it, throw into the scale the conjecture that, as a true friend, Barrow would not consent to be a party to withdrawing Newton from the study of philosophy.

What gives probability to this story of Newton's standing for a Law Fellowship, is, that his pecuniary means were at this time inadequate to his wants, and that he found himself compelled to obtain from the Royal Society absolution from the payments consequent on a Fellowship. In the regular course, his Fellowship at Trinity College would lapse in consequence of his appointment to the Lucasian chair, and from the latter source he derived a miserable pittance.* The Professorship also involved

* From the recent report of the Cambridge Commissioners, we learn that the estate left by Mr. Lucas for the support of the Mathematical chair was estimated in 1666 as worth £100 per annum, and that the Royal grant of Charles II.,

the necessity of taking orders. From pecuniary anxiety, and also from the probably not less anxious embarrassment of holy orders, Newton was happily relieved by a patent from the Crown, permitting him to hold a Fellowship together with the Professorship, and exempting him from the necessity of orders. This patent is based on the declared willingness of the King to give all just encouragement to learned men, and received the sanction of the Attorney-General, Sir William Jones. The pecuniary pressure on Newton, though severe, was very temporary; for two years afterwards we find him again exercising the liberality natural to him, and subscribing £40 to the new library of Trinity College.

Amongst the papers now for the first time made accessible to Sir David Brewster is one in Newton's handwriting proposing "A Scheme for establishing the Royal Society," from which it appears that he was desirous of converting the Royal Society into an institution resembling the Academy of Sciences in Paris, and involving a systematic endowment of science. This document is without date; but there can be little doubt that it was, if not suggested, yet influenced, by that painful epoch in Newton's life when he was compelled to undergo the humiliating process of asking a release from the weekly payments due to the Royal Society.

(To be continued.)

RECENTLY DISCOVERED SARCOPHAGUS OF A KING OF SIDON.*

The most important of the inscriptions mentioned in the work of which the title is given below, was brought to light on the 19th of January, 1855, by some peasants of the neighbourhood of Sidon, who were exploring a spot traditionally known as the "sepulchres of the kings," in search of hidden treasures. The place where it was found is at the rise of the hills from the plain in which the city of Sidon stood, and at a considerable distance from the modern town of Saida, but not far from the probable boundary of the ancient city. The sarcophagus was empty, but on the cover, which is seven feet long by four wide, is an inscription of twenty-two lines, in Phœnician characters, very distinct, and in almost perfect preservation. It is not of the

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which confirmed the deed of trust, forbade the tenure of many lucrative offices, including that of College Tutor.

* Zwei Sidonische Inschriften und eine altphönicische Königsinschrift, zuerst herausgegeben und erklärt von Dr. F. E. C. Dietrich, Doctor der Phil. und Theol. ord. Prof. in Marburg. Marburg, 1855. Pp. 127. [Two Sidonian Inscriptions and an ancient Phœnician Royal Inscription. Now first published and explained by Dr. F. E. C. Dietrich, Dr. of Philosophy and Professor in ordinary of Theology at Marburg.]

stone of the neighbourhood, which is chalk or Jura limestone, but a hard, bluish-white marble, which must have been brought from some distance, to afford a better material for the inscription. The first intelligence of the discovery was communicated to the Chevalier Bunsen, at Heidelberg, by the Rev. Wm. Thompson, one of the American missionaries, to whom biblical geography and antiquities are deeply indebted for the zeal and activity with which they have carried on their researches in Syria. The Duc de Luynes, in France, and Dr. Dietrich, professor of theology at Marburg, have published translations of the inscription; and the subject has been brought forward at the meetings of the Royal Society of Literature and the Syro-Egyptian Society, where a translation was produced by a gentleman, whose name leads to the supposition that he is a Jewish Rabbi. The work of Dietrich contains a fac-simile of the inscription, with a transcript in Hebrew characters, a translation and a commentary.

Although differences exist among the several translators in regard to the meaning of some passages, the tenor of the whole is subject to no doubt. A king of Sidon, named Asmunezer, the son of Tabnith, king of Sidon, and Amashtoreth, daughter of Asmunezer I., was once the occupant of the tomb. The inscription, which is dated in the month of Bul, in the fourteenth year of his reign, was probably placed upon the cover by his successor, and the date is that of his death, the sarcophagus having been prepared by him during his life-time, according to the custom of the Egyptian kings. The first fourteen lines of it contain a warning against the violation or alienation of his tomb, enforced by a variety of most fearful imprecations upon those who neglect his prohibitions. In the second portion he relates the great works which he had performed in Sidon, bringing thither an aqueduct, and erecting a temple to the gods Elon (the El, Ilus, or Saturn of Phœnician mythology), Baal and Ashtaroth. The third part contains a supplication to the "lord of kings," on behalf of the land of the Sidonians; and the inscription concludes with a renewal of the imprecation on the violator of the tomb.

The first part of the king's name is evidently Esmun, the Phœnician Æsculapius* and father of the Cabiri; the second, the Hebrew word for strength, found in Eleazar, Eliezer and other names, so that the whole would signify "Esmun is strong," as Eliezer, "my god is strong." Elon is a god not known before in Phœnician mythology. His name is probably the Phœnician for *god*,† a title given to him *par excellence*, as the chief deity of the Pantheon. So Ζεύς, or in the older form Δεύς, seems the same as Θεός.

* Phœnicia, p. 326, note 5. Bodesmun, "servant of Esmun," is a Phœnician name, occurring in inscriptions.

† See the first line of the Punic scene in Plautus. Phœnicia, p. 180.

It is not wonderful that some parts of the translation are still doubtful. There are no spaces between the words, so that they may be differently divided. Though the language is so closely allied to the Hebrew that 88 words out of 100 may be referred to it, it must not be supposed that it can be translated by means of a Hebrew lexicon; the roots being the same, the derivative signification may be very different. The Hebrew is an imperfectly developed language, as compared with the Greek, but the Phœnician is much more so, the Jews being as much superior to their neighbours in letters, as they were inferior in mechanical and ornamental art. This, too, is the first Phœnician inscription of any length or complexity which has been brought to light. The rest have been chiefly brief sepulchral forms, or the still briefer legends of coins.

Several remarkable instances occur of correspondence between this inscription and the Hebrew scriptures. The month of Bul is mentioned in 1 Kings vi. 38, and only in the account of the building of Solomon's temple, which was performed by Phœnician artificers. The word for *month* used in this passage is the same as in the inscription, but is different from that used in the older books of scripture. The names of Baal and Ashtaroth are familiar from the scripture history; the latter is especially characterized as the "goddess of the Sidonians." One of the curses in the inscription is that the violator of the tomb might have "no place among the Rephaim," i.e. no resting-place in the grave, the Hebrews designating by this name, which is found in the original, Psalm lxxxviii. 10, their Hades, or abode of the departed.* The date of the sarcophagus cannot be defined, as King Asmunezer's name does not occur in any list, and he only gives his own regnal year. It appears probable, however, that he lived after the conquest of Phœnicia by Cambyses, in the year 526 B.C., and before the Conquest by Alexander, 332 B.C.; and therefore during the time when the kings of that country enjoyed their titles and power, though in a state of dependence on Persia.

In consequence of the disputes between the European consuls for the possession of this sarcophagus, the Turkish authorities closed it for a time from public view, and it was reported that it had been sent off to Constantinople. The most recent intelligence is, that it has been secured for the Louvre. A satisfactory result of the present union between France and England would be, that the two governments should send a joint commission to explore the sites of the Phœnician cities, agreeing to divide the fruits of their researches, as they have done the bloody spoils of Sebastopol. Such an arrangement was made between the French and Tuscan governments, when they sent a joint expedition to Egypt under Champollion and Rosellini, and if it did not work quite

* Phœnicia, p. 43.

harmoniously, it was more owing, we believe, to the temper of the Frenchman than to anything inherent in the arrangement itself. If this is not to be expected from governments engaged in an expensive war, funds might surely be obtained from private individuals, sufficient to carry on extensive excavations. The Syro-Egyptian Society would do itself honour by assuming the lead in such an undertaking, which could hardly fail to be attended with brilliant results.

The second inscription is from a Christian tomb of the seventh century after Christ, and commemorates a certain Anarras and Apion and John his sons. Prefixed to it is a quotation in very incorrect Greek from the Septuagint version of Ps. xxiii: Κς ποιμήνι με καὶ ὀυδόμ με ὑστερησι, εἰς τόπον χλοῆς εκῖ με κατεσκήνωσεν, and it concludes with a quotation from 1 Cor. xv. 53. Christianity was planted at an early date in Sidon; St. Paul found friends (Acts xxvii. 3) when he touched there on his way to Rome, and a bishop of Sidon was present at the Council of Nicæa. Dr. Dietrich observes the contrast between the sarcophagus of the Phœnician king, which expresses no hope respecting the future, and the cheerful faith of this humble and unlettered Christian.

K.

THOUGHTS ON SECULAR ATHEISM.*

Chapter IV.

THE RELIGIOUS FACULTY UNIVERSAL IN MAN, AND ITS NUTRIMENT IN EXTERNAL NATURE.

The superficial thinker may indulge, perhaps, in something like contempt for the manifestations of the religious sentiment, when he notices the countless follies and absurdities,—and yet worse than follies and absurdities,—with which it has often been connected. And the endless diversities of idea, feeling and observance which, in various ages and nations, have all passed under the common name of Religion, may tempt some such superficial thinker to doubt whether the religious sentiment itself has any necessary foundation in the faculties of the human soul.

But to the real thinker, the varieties prove the universality of the faculty itself;—the contradictions and absurdities prove how essential to man in all his varied states, of barbarism and civilization, of knowledge and ignorance, of moral elevation and moral degradation, is that all-adaptive sentiment of Religion which he carries with him, thus diversified, through them all.

It is like the gift of speech. In how many various and discordant languages do the tribes of men express themselves!

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* Continued from Vol. XI. p. 741.

Utterly unintelligible shall be the words of the Hottentot to the New-Zealander; and alike unintelligible, and barbarous too, shall both their languages be to us; but who will therefore doubt whether the gift of speech has been conferred upon us all? The varieties, the discrepancies, the incongruities that mark it, prove its universality as a need, and its infinite adaptations as a faculty, of the human race.

Similar varieties characterize even the limbs and bodily senses of different races and individuals. Stature, features, complexion, hair, which mark the enduring type of a nation or tribe or family beyond mistake;—senses developed into marvellous acuteness by the discipline of one mode of life above another;—and all the bodily faculties and functions varied through every conceivable modification, from the rough healthy hardihood of the savage to the refined skill of the European;—all these varieties of the bodily conformation and developement may require that, in defining Man, we so define him as to include all his varieties; but the strangest conclusion of all would be, that *because* there are endless diversities in the structure and developement of his brain, limbs and senses, therefore brain, limbs and senses do not necessarily characterize him at all!

So, as regards the Intellectual faculties, there are endless varieties and degrees (as who needs to be told?) of power and of attainment, characterizing the race, the nation or the individual. How strange, how grotesque to our apprehension, how almost beyond our power even to realize and appreciate, are the ideas of the far East, clothed in the flowery language of China and reproduced in our English tongue! And what a rich study of national varieties of thought does the comparison of any foreign language with his own present to one who appreciates Sir Wm. Jones's beautiful comparison of the acquisition of another language to the acquisition of a new soul! In the idioms of language are written the *national* diversities of intellectual law, within the range of each of which the individual thought may vary yet again;—but who shall doubt whether the intellect exists at all, because he finds its developement so various?

The Moral faculty is, if possible, yet more varied; and, in all its varieties, is seen to be still an essential faculty of our nature. The particular dictates of conscience in different nations or individuals, may be strangely inconsistent, and often utterly revolting to a purer moral sense; but the ancient Spartan, to whom theft in certain circumstances was a virtue and its detection the only vice in the transaction, or the modern Hindoo, who has learnt to regard the self-immolation of the widow with admiration, has retained a clearer perception on other points of human duty; while the perversion of the moral faculty in these very instances proves, in a different way, the existence of the faculty. The moral faculty is there, and is perverted. It expressly believes

the wrong to be right; and does the wrong, because it is believed to be right.

Then the Religious faculty (in its perversion or debasement often the occasion of wrong moral judgments) is not less varied than our other faculties. But its Babel tongues should no more confuse our perception of the universal prevalence of the faculty, than the various languages of the world make us doubt the existence of the thoughts and feelings so variously expressed in them.

We must indeed take no narrow definition of religion or of the religious faculty; else we might doubt its universality,—as we should be tempted to deny the universality of speech, if we began with defining it in reference to some of the peculiarities of our own language. We must include in our idea of religion all the emotions with which the Savage kneels to his deformed idol or formless fetisch, with which the Persian adores the sun, the Red Indian reveres the Great Spirit beyond the hills, the Mahometan worships one omnipotent God, and the Christian trusts a Heavenly Father's love. In the highest purity of our own faith we must, as Theists, find a point of similarity if not sympathy with the lowest devotee of the most degraded heathenism. Great indeed are these discrepancies; but is not the faculty the same in all? Does it not universally manifest a sense of weakness, and a reaching forth to the Power above us and around us? A sense of want in ourselves, and a desire of blessing from a higher hand? The consciousness that he is not the author of his own existence, or the arbiter (except in a very limited degree) of his own destiny;—the sight of the great and wonderful operations of Nature ceaselessly going on, without his will, but manifestly, on the whole, for his good;—the experience of events which befal him, for weal or for woe, by no arranging of his own or on the part of his fellows, but in spite of their effort at one time and beyond their hope at another;—may lead man, in his lowest developement, to bless the earth for its manifest bounty and the sun for its beneficent warmth, and to adore the stars for their beauty and mystery;—or it may suggest to him, in another stage of progress, to worship an unseen Cause, or Causes, of that which is too high for him to understand; he may ascribe his good to one set of invisible beings and his evil to another; he may seek to represent these agents of the spiritual world by bodily shapes or pictures, and bend before these in worship; or, with the higher growth of art and diminished intensity of awe-struck religious feeling, he may, in other ages or climes, people a whole Pantheon with tasteful statues, severally expressive of the distinctive attributes of Grecian gods and goddesses, whose worshipers may be, in fact, votaries of taste and splendour rather than devotees of the marble gods, and are meanwhile employing their theological reasonings in the schools of the philosophers quite apart from their national institutions for religious worship.

But all these are so many various developements of that same religious faculty, which has meanwhile received, in one remarkable spot of earth, a most peculiar direction, under special divine guidance as its subjects firmly believe, exhibiting a purer theology than the world's philosophers had reached, while combining with it a popular worship of great pomp and ceremony; and out of the bosom of this divinely-instituted Judaism there has since sprung a worship as pure as the theology, and a religious love and faith that can consecrate the whole life of man on earth to the service of his God and Father. So wide, so varied, so comprehensive is the religious faculty.

From this religious faculty, thus universal in man, some Theists propose to infer *directly* the existence of a God. They say, the faculty, like all our other faculties, points to an object suitable to its exercise. They say, it would be philosophical to infer the existence of food from the constitution of a creature that evidently requires food, even if we did not know that the food exists. So indeed it would, *on the assumption* that all is the work of Divine Wisdom and Goodness. Assuming the existence and attributes of God, we might argue that if a creature is formed to need food, there is also food suitable to the need provided. And, *assuming* the Divine existence and attributes, we might argue (if the argument were worth sustaining) that man being gifted with the religious faculty proves the existence of the Being who gave that faculty and to whom it points. But we are at present in search of the very thing here assumed, and must not assume what we want to prove. If Divine Wisdom and Goodness framed man such as he is, doubtless his religious faculty was not given to mock him. The Being who gave him that faculty, exists. This is plainly the *circular* argument; assuming what it is about to prove, and proving what it has so assumed. But when we are inquiring into the proofs of the Divine existence, we must not argue from the religious faculty in man, that God exists, because otherwise that faculty would be given in vain. Our question with the Atheist is, whether the highest faculties and best aspirations of the human soul are, or are not, in vain. We must keep clear of the "circulating syllogism," and go forward in as straight a line of argument as we can.

We have found the religious faculty existing in man, with as much constancy, amid as much variety, as characterizes his bodily limbs and senses. If there are instances in which the faculty seems not to exist, or to be very defective or dormant, they are exceptional, like the cases of the deaf-mute, the blind, the idiotic. The religious faculty prevails, with as few exceptions as any other of our faculties. Now let us see what materials of thought and feeling are offered to it by the Universe. Let us endeavour to sketch, however lightly and imperfectly, the kind of

religious influence which is impressed upon us by a loving communion with the works of Nature. To the faculty existing in us, certain outward materials are presented. What judgment does it pronounce upon them? Do they furnish tokens in which it can reasonably recognize Divine power, wisdom and goodness?

The religious influence of Nature was never, perhaps, more highly appreciated or more devoutly cherished than by the late poet Wordsworth, in whom it was manifestly the very life of the soul, prevailing over his more technical and formal views of religion, as the living spirit over the dead letter, and constituting his heart's "blessedness and love." Describing, no doubt, his own boyhood and youth (though in the assumed person of another), he says (*Excursion*, Book i.):

> "He had felt the power
> Of Nature, and already was prepared,
> By his intense conceptions, to receive
> Deeply the lesson deep of love which he,
> Whom Nature, by whatever means, has taught
> To feel intensely, cannot but receive.
>
> Such was the Boy—but for the growing Youth
> What soul was his, when, from the naked top
> Of some bold headland, he beheld the Sun
> Rise up and bathe the world in light! He looked—
> Ocean and earth, the solid frame of earth
> And ocean's liquid mass, in gladness lay
> Beneath him:—Far and wide the clouds were touched,
> And in their silent faces could he read
> Unutterable love. Sound needed none,
> Nor any voice of joy; his spirit drank
> The spectacle: sensation, soul, and form,
> All melted into him; they swallowed up
> His animal being; in them did he live,
> And by them did he live; they were his life.
> In such access of mind, in such high hour
> Of visitation from the living God,
> Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.
> No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request;
> Rapt into still communion that transcends
> The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
> His mind was a thanksgiving to the power
> That made him; it was blessedness and love!"

But the thoughtful student of "the world's harmonious volume," if at times thus wrapt in emotion, may at other times deeply ponder "the things that are made," and analyze the impressions which they produce upon his understanding and heart. And it is right and desirable that he should do so, in order that his natural piety may not be merely a sentiment, but a conviction too,—that he may really *know* God in his works, if those works proclaim a God.

And when we thus reason from the visible works of the Universe to their unseen Cause, the observation that first and most forcibly strikes us probably is their beauty.

Through the delicious sense of Beauty, Nature instils the idea of Divinity. She enchains us to the love of created things, that we may love the Creator the moment we recognize Him in his works. It is no mere world of rigid means and ends that she presents to our delighted eyes. Such adaptations it has indeed in rich abundance, addressing our reason as well as our love; we find them the more abundantly the deeper we seek them. But these are not the first aspect of the Creation. Its first aspect is that of profuse, gratuitous, unutilitarian loveliness, poured out upon sky and earth, plant, tree and living creature, in the very "pomp and prodigality" of Heavenly love. This plant might have grown, without all that symmetery of shape and richness of colouring. Or it might have possessed its identical shape and colours, without affecting our sense of sight (any more than that of the quadruped that browses upon it) with these agreeable and exalted impressions. That bird might have been mute; or every song from the air above us might have been discordant to our ears. Its plumage might have been without beauty or variety, and yet warm and effectual for the needs of its own life. The general aspect of Nature might, conceivably, have been painful or indifferent, instead of thus pleasurable and delightful to us to contemplate. The mountains might, conceivably, have been without all those lights and shadows, colours and tints. The sky might not have had its Rainbow or its Aurora, its serene blue or its varied sunset. Or all these things might have been as they are in themselves, yet all wanting to us, if we had not the inner sense of beauty as well as the outer sense of sight. As it is, we enter the great Temple of Nature through the "gate that is called Beautiful," and seek the great Creator under the happy impression that he must be kind. Accordingly, no real lover of Nature has ever held severe or gloomy views of Nature's God. Formalism yields to the blessed sense of all-present Goodness. Even the hardness of a gloomy creed is melted before the serene spirit of Nature, and its too stern futurity is discredited by the very blessedness of this earth as it stands before our eyes rejoicing still in the fresh sunlight of every morning's dawn.

Closely accompanying the impression of the beauty of Creation, is that of its Happiness. No one can attentively observe the animal creation, in any of its ranks or species, and doubt that

"He who formed them, formed them to enjoy."

In all their endless varieties of faculty, need, circumstance,—from the creature that is little more than a sponge through imperceptible gradations to the most highly organized quadruped—

"all are filled with good" to the measure of their respective capacity. They pursue their unerring, heaven-taught instincts, demonstrating to reasoning man, by those unreasoning but unerring impulses, the existence of a higher Reason than his or theirs. They reach their allotted good; and, without apprehension of death, or more than a momentary pang, usually, in its endurance (mercifully ordained to be mostly through the means of a more powerful enemy), they die;—the ephemera when it has fulfilled its few hours of existence, the elephant after, perhaps, his half-century of years. The worshiper who has entered through the gate of Beauty into this vast temple of Nature's homage, and now finds himself encompassed round with countless forms of life and sounds of animation, energy and joy, must want the soul of gratitude if he is not happy too, and religiously happy on behalf of those creatures which are endowed with happiness, but not with the perception of its source. The soul of worship in him harmonizes their joy into devotion of his own. And if he thus truly thanks the All-giver on their behalf, this is the best guarantee that he, their earthly lord, will not abuse his prerogative over them in wantonness or cruelty.

Pursuing the investigation of Nature more carefully, we are struck with the immensity of her works;—with the vastness of space and distance, with the size, number, speed of the heavenly bodies and their movements. We talk of millions, and thousands of millions, and even billions of miles, till we are lost in the effort to conceive the attempted idea,—if we do not indeed cheat ourselves with a string of figures in place of real thought. Looking in another direction, we find the scale of creation vanishing by infinite gradations from little to less till it eludes all our senses, and we call in the aid of the Microscope to take us further and further on towards the infinite of small, as the Telescope had carried us towards the infinite of large and distant. But neither in large nor in small can we believe we have reached the end of this series, while each wonderful advance in art applied to the perfecting of optical instruments shews us still remoter stars on the one hand, and on the other yet minuter beings or more minute structural arrangements in things already examined, and brings home to our thought the reverent acknowledgment of the Infinite:

> "To Him no high, no low, no great, no small;
> He fills, he bounds, connects and equals all."

Thus, to the sense of Beauty and the perception of the Happiness of creation, is added the reverential feeling of the infinitude of its works and of the Power traceable in those works.

Their Order, too, touches a high intellectual and truly religious sentiment. In every department the diligent student of Nature traces the regularity of presiding Law. Some, indeed, satisfied with a word instead of a living thought, are content to

talk of the *Laws of Nature* without inquiring after the enacter or the executive of those Laws, as though the Law (that is, the ascertained order of the phenomena) were the ultimate fact to be ascertained, and could be accepted as the self-existing cause of the things observed. But, to the persisting reasoner, these discovered Laws of order necessarily suggest a previous Thought and a previous Power. That Power must elude his senses as its laws themselves do. That Thought his finite thought can only invest with immensity till it is lost in wonder and in worship. But here, the worshiper in Nature's temple begins to feel that the infinitude before which his mind has been prostrate, is not a vague, dreary thought, to chill his aspirations and defy his reasonings, since it is concentrated upon definite modes of operation, and the Power who can do all things has been pleased to prescribe to himself, as it were, certain modes of systematic action, which, because they are orderly and regular, His intelligent creature Man may adopt into the religion of his daily work and daily trust. His perception of Order, as one of Heaven's great laws, is tantamount to his reception of the doctrine of Providence. The providence that is over human affairs consists, shall we not say, in this beneficent order, speaking precept and promise to the intelligent soul of man, telling him how to frame his own voluntary conduct with reference to the observed constancy of Nature around him. In this divine order we trust. With full faith in its constancy we act our part. Relying on the order of Nature in the physical world, we plant and sow, we work and plan. In the intellectual and moral world, we count upon the connection of moral cause and effect. That order may indeed, in either case, be imperfectly understood by us; and where the law is partly unknown, or our own power of co-operating with it is too limited, the results may disappoint and try us with as useful discipline perhaps as that of clearer knowledge and larger power, resulting in proportionate success.

Nor can we separate this perception of order in the course of Nature from that of its continuance. "For ever, O Lord," says a sacred poet, "Thy name is written in heaven." "All things continue unto this day according to thine ordinance, because all are thy servants." Majestic indeed is this uniformity of Nature! The last eclipse of the sun or moon that took place, had been predicted in the almanacks of the year with the utmost precision, to the very second of time, and to the exact extent of the obscuration. What perfection of human science and art, to observe so well, to calculate so exactly! But what regularity of Law, what continuance of order in the divine system of things, is at the basis of the human expectation, and gives encouragement to the exertion of human art and science in the prediction! "O, lift up your eyes on high,"—says one of old time, whose eyes looked forth upon the same sun and stars,—"and behold,

Who hath created these things, that bringeth out their host by number! He calleth them all by names, by the greatness of his might. For that He is strong in power, not one faileth."

Child of Reason! lift up thine eyes and behold! Heart of worship! awake to gratitude and love!

This religious interpretation of Nature is frequently expressed by scriptural writers, who, whether under the old dispensation or under the new, laid their minds freely open to its influence. The prophets of God and the poets of his sanctuary found in these suggestions of the outward creation, the richest materials for religious instruction and devout contemplation. What a noble song is that of David's—the nineteenth psalm—in which he gives vocal utterance to the suggestions of natural piety put into his heart by the heavens while he contemplated them "declaring the glory of God," and the firmament "shewing his handywork," while

> "Day unto day uttereth speech,
> And night unto night sheweth knowledge."

Or that yet softer song (Ps. civ.) of the earth and its mountains and waters, its hills and valleys and green grass and herb for man and beast; its tribes of living creatures all having their appointed place and full measure of varied good; and man, their lord too, with his daily work and duty assigned under the great Lord of all, on the opening of whose hand all wait and none in vain! Or those graphic pictures in Job (xxxviii.—xli.), which bring forth from the treasure-house of Natural History at once the riches of poetry and true lessons of devotion, and in the grand and awful phenomena of Nature find the key to our inmost reverence and awe! These poems, and the multitude of poems of the same kind that abound in the Hebrew Scriptures, are the voices of Revelation itself, in its ancient Hebrew developement, giving more distinct expression to the mute significancy of those everlasting hieroglyphics of creation, which only need the interpretation of religious thoughtfulness and sensibility to make their holy legend clear.

Turn we to the Christian Scriptures; and we find Christ himself preaching out of this great open text-book of Nature;—calling the lily of the field and the fowl of the air to be his witnesses for the universality of God's providence, making the seed of the earth the emblem of his Gospel's growth, and the commonplaces of life the frame-work of his parables and the occasions of his instructions. How comprehensive and how interesting is this attestation of Revealed religion to the religion of Nature! The book of Nature, ever open to the eyes of all, sets the great elementary truths of Religion forth to every observer, in such varied lessons that few can wholly miss the divinity of its pages. Revelation repeats and attests the beautiful lesson:

"The invisible things of God, from the beginning of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; even his eternal Power and Godhead." There is no jealousy on the part of the religion of the Bible towards the truths of Nature.

Our own feelings respond to these appeals. Nature speaks thus to each of us very often. She whispers holy thoughts to us whenever we put ourselves fairly within her influence. In the walk abroad, even amid familiar, homely scenes, or in the rarer visit to wilder or more picturesque places—amid summer verdure, or winter hoar frost—in the stillness of the elements, or in their awakened power and dread—in the varied beauty and magnificence of day, or in the mysterious infinite of night,—there are few that have not sometimes communed with the Great Spirit of Life, Beauty and Mystery. Even the unlettered, to whom the Bible is unknown, can read some parts of this radiant book of the Creation. The young find in it springs of knowledge ever fresh, and gems of piety sparkling and pure. The wearied, toiling dweller amid the smoke of our great cities, where scarcely sun or star reveals the infinite sky, and amid the din of business and pleasure which stuns the outward ear and mocks the inward listening of the soul for what the Great Spirit might teach,—well knows he how his holiday sight of Nature recruits him not less in spirit than in body; and it is well if he cherishes this feeling of recovered freshness of spirit as half-religious in itself, and makes it wholly so in a cultivated sense of the beauty and goodness that bless him.

Of this essentially religious influence of Nature upon the suffering mind, we borrow, from the pages of a periodical miscellany, the following beautiful and most true description:

"O Nature! what a gentle nurse art thou! O kind Nature, that takest the sufferer to thy bosom, cooling his burning tongue with thy soft breezes, or speaking peace to his restless heart in the quiet voices of the whispering leaves,—thou canst cheer him out of idleness by the clear, deep song of the happy, busy brook, or beguile his weary eyes to rest on thy blue hills and airy distance, thus leading his onward thoughts to a far country where all shall be love and peace. Thou art indeed a mother to thy children. There comes no disappointment with the love of thee, thou ever-rich fulfiller of ever-constant promises! Thy very change is beauty; change in thyself, but constancy to those who love thee; and though, for a while, we may desert thee in quest of fancied good, which too often proves reality of evil, like a tender mother again thou takest the poor wanderer to thy bosom, soothest the eyes that have wept a world of tears since last they parted from thee, with thy healing beauty, lulling the quivering nerves with the silent music of thy wondrous harmonies, and repeating over and over again thy never-forfeited promises of peace." (*Monthly Repository*, Aug., 1835—*The Actress.*)

THE MYSTERY OF MAN.

BY SIR JOHN BOWRING.

THE *mystery of Man!* I dwelt
On the perplexing words, and felt
That every thought but made the theme
Still more perplexing—till at last
Sleep o'er my brows its curtains cast;
And lo! I dreamt—another dream!

Matter and spirit—death and life—
In thousand images of strife,
And mists and strange imaginings,
Had fill'd my mind with wild debate
On questions vex'd and intricate,
'Twixt real and unreal things.

So I slept, wearied—and it seem'd
That earth receded, as I dream'd,
And dawn roll'd back the clouds of night,
And day grew brighter,—and a car
Convey'd me, wheel'd on sunbeams, far
Towards regions of supernal light.

And there, all star-bespangled, lay
From heaven to earth, the milky way,
O'er which a million angels flew;
They dived below,—they soared above,
Bearing sweet messages of love,—
Their pinions dropping light like dew.

Then two celestial messengers
Descended,—and one touch'd my ears;
When divine music, soft and sweet,
Burst round. The other couched my eyes,
And then I saw, in mute surprise,
A world—all radiant—at my feet.

Our world—the world in which we are—
But seen as from a neighbouring star,
By bright-eyed seraphs—when they view
Not seeming things in mortal guise,
But Heaven's decreed realities—
The past, the future,—through and through.

There was a lazar-house:—Disease
And Death, and all their agonies,
In thousand loathsome forms, were seen;
Yet there, a thousand virtues shed
Their lustre round each sufferer's bed,
And guardian angels smiled serene.

A battle-field, with all its woe
And wailing, lay outspread below;—
Those woes, those wails in silence die;

Flowers grew from that encarmined ground,
And joyous spirits scatter'd round
  Love, hope, peace, light, and liberty.

I watch'd death-dooming arrows strike
Young, old, base, beautiful, alike;
  The fool,—the wise,—none, none were spared:
But as the generations pass'd,
Each wiser, better than the last,
  Upon the world's vast stage appear'd.

I saw the haunts of Shame and Sin;
But in their deepest depths within,
  Envoys from heaven were busy. Law
And Order fought with Crime,—and Crime
Was chain'd and humanized by time,
  And God was seen in all I saw.

And then I learnt and understood
How Evil might be train'd to Good;
  Sufferings be Virtue's ministers;
Sin, Sorrow, and Adversity,
By God's sublime machinery,
  Become Religion's harbingers.

The very bitterest buds may grow
To sweetest fruits,—the fountain's flow,
  Though turgid, may be purified
In fresh and sparkling streams,—the night
May be the very source of light,
  As fairest gems in caverns grow.

Another angel bade me turn
Towards the high sun,—that golden urn
  Was often veil'd in clouds: but still
Its course was onward—onward. "Thus,"
He said—"not always luminous,
  But *onward*, moves the Eternal Will.

"No clouds arrest its way—no mark
Tracks all its progress through the dark;
  But every weak and wandering ray
That breaks the mists—or lights the hills—
Or wakes the flowers—or gilds the rills—
  Shews that it marches on its way—

"Marches, and never rests: the spheres
Roll forward through eternal years,
  As rivers to the ocean roll,
There to be lost;—so all that is
Shall merge in boundless seas of bliss,
  And sense be all absorbed in soul."

Gulf of Siam, March 25, 1855.

MR. MACAULAY'S ACCOUNT OF THOMAS AIKENHEAD. 1697.

But to the men by whom that system [the Act for the settling of Scottish Schools] was established, posterity owes no gratitude. They knew not what they were doing. They were the unconscious instruments of enlightening the understandings and humanizing the hearts of millions. But their own understandings were as dark and their own hearts as obdurate as those of the Familiars of the Inquisition at Lisbon. In the very month in which the Act for the settling of Schools was touched with the sceptre, the rulers of the Church and State in Scotland began to carry on with vigour two persecutions worthy of the tenth century, a persecution of witches and a persecution of infidels. A crowd of wretches, guilty only of being old and miserable, were accused of trafficking with the devil. The Privy Council was not ashamed to issue a Commission for the trial of twenty-two of these poor creatures. The shops of the booksellers of Edinburgh were strictly searched for heretical works. Impious books, among which the sages of the Presbytery ranked Thomas Burnet's Sacred Theory of the Earth, were strictly suppressed. But the destruction of mere paper and sheep-skin would not satisfy the bigots. Their hatred required victims who could feel, and was not appeased till they had perpetrated a crime such as never since polluted the island.

A student of eighteen, named Thomas Aikenhead (1), whose habits were studious and whose morals were irreproachable, had in the course of his reading met with some of the ordinary arguments against the Bible. He fancied that he had lighted on a mine of wisdom which had been hidden from the rest of mankind, and, with the conceit from which half-educated lads of quick parts are seldom free, proclaimed his discoveries to four or five of his companions. Trinity in unity, he said, was as much a contradiction as a square circle. Ezra was the author of the Pentateuch. The Apocalypse was an allegorical book about the philosopher's stone. Moses had learnt magic in Egypt. Christianity was a delusion which would not last till 1800. For this wild talk, of which in all probability he would himself have been ashamed long before he was five-and-twenty, he was prosecuted by the Lord Advocate. The Lord Advocate was that James Stewart who had been so often a Whig and so often a Jacobite that it is difficult to keep an account of his apostasies. He was now a Whig for the third, if not for the fourth time. Aikenhead might undoubtedly have been, by the law of Scotland, punished with imprisonment (2) till he should retract his errors and do penance before the congregation of his parish; and every man of sense and humanity would have thought this a sufficient punishment for the prate of a forward boy. But Stewart, as cruel as he was base, called for blood. There was among the Scottish statutes one which made

it a capital crime to revile or curse the Supreme Being or any Person of the Trinity (3). Nothing that Aikenhead had said could, without the most violent straining, be brought within the scope of this statute. But the Lord Advocate exerted all his subtlety. The poor youth at the bar had no counsel. He was altogether unable to do justice to his own cause. He was convicted and sentenced (4) to be hanged and buried at the foot of the gallows. It was in vain that he with tears abjured his errors and begged piteously for mercy. Some of those who saw him in his dungeon believed that his recantation was sincere; and indeed it is by no means improbable that in him, as in many other pretenders to philosophy who imagine that they have completely emancipated themselves from the religion of their childhood, the near prospect of death may have produced an entire change of sentiment. He petitioned the Privy Council that if his life could not be spared, he might be allowed a short respite to make his peace with the God whom he had offended. Some of the Councillors were for granting this small indulgence. Others thought that it ought not to be granted unless the ministers of Edinburgh would intercede. The two parties were evenly balanced; and the question was decided against the prisoner by the casting vote of the Chancellor. The Chancellor was a man who has been often mentioned in the course of this history, and never mentioned with honour. He was that Sir Patrick Hume whose disputatious and factious temper had brought ruin on the expedition of Argyle, and had caused not a little annoyance to the government of William. In the Club which had braved the King and domineered over the Parliament there had been no more noisy republican. But a title and a place had produced a wonderful conversion. Sir Patrick was now Lord Polwarth; he had the custody of the Great Seal of Scotland; he presided in the Privy Council; and thus he had it in his power to do the worst action of his bad life.

It remained to be seen how the clergy of Edinburgh would act. That divines should be deaf to the entreaties of a penitent who asks, not for pardon, but for a little more time to receive their instructions and to pray to Heaven for the mercy which cannot be extended to him on earth, seems almost incredible. Yet so it was. The ministers demanded, not only the poor boy's death, but his speedy death, though it should be his eternal death. Even from their pulpits they cried out for cutting him off. It is probable that their real reason for refusing him a respite of a few days was their apprehension that the circumstances of his case might be reported at Kensington, and that the King, who, while reciting the Coronation Oath, had declared from the throne that he would not be a persecutor, might send down positive orders that the sentence should not be executed. Aikenhead was hanged between Edinburgh and Leith. He pro-

fessed deep repentance, and suffered with the Bible in his hand. The people of Edinburgh, though assuredly not disposed to think lightly of his offence, were moved to compassion by his youth, by his penitence, and by the cruel haste with which he was hurried out of the world. It seems that there was some apprehension of a rescue, for a strong body of fusileers was under arms to support the civil power. The preachers who were the boy's murderers (5) crowded round him at the gallows, and while he was struggling in the last agony, insulted Heaven with prayers more blasphemous than anything that he had ever uttered. Wodrow has told no blacker story of Dundee.—*History of England*, Vol. IV. pp. 781—784.

(1.) Aikenhead was the son of James Aikenhead, a surgeon, of Edinburgh, then deceased. Respecting his age, differing statements exist. Hugo Arnot, in his "Collection of Criminal Trials" (1785), says he was about twenty years of age. Mr. Macaulay appears to follow the authority of Lord Anstruther, who visited the unhappy youth in prison, and who was sufficiently touched with pity as to move for a short respite of the sentence. He describes Aikenhead as free from vice and extremely studious.

(2.) By the 11th Act of King Will. Parliament, 1695, it was ordained that any person guilty of denying or impugning the being of God, or any of the Persons of the blessed Trinity, or the authority of the Holy Scriptures, or the providence of God in the government of the world, should for the first offence be imprisoned until they find bail, to give satisfaction in sackcloth to the congregation within which the scandal was committed; for the second offence, the delinquent was in addition to be fined in one year's valued rent and the twentieth part of his free personal estate; for the third offence, he was, as an obstinate blasphemer, to be put to death. Mr. Locke had interested himself greatly in this case, and in a letter to Sir Francis Masham, dated London, February, 1696-7, states that this Act (the 11th of Tweedale's Session of Parliament) was obtained by trick and surprise. Can any correspondent, having access to the documents of Scottish history, elucidate this statement?

(3.) It is stated in Bayne's Criminal Law of Scotland (1748), that blasphemy was, according to the law of Scotland, punishable with death. The first species of blasphemy is there described as consisting in the railing upon or cursing God, i.e. uttering imprecations against the Almighty (unless the offender is under the power of madness), without distinction, whether he continues in the practice of it or not, for the *single act* constitutes the crime. The second consists in the denying the existence of the Supreme Being or any of the Persons of the blessed Trinity, and therein persevering obstinately to the last; for reiteration does not fully constitute the crime, because the statute admits of repentance before conviction as a complete expiation. This was the law of blasphemy according to the Act of 1661, and this Act was ratified by that of the Scottish Parliament in 1696. Aikenhead, Mr. Locke observed, must have been convicted under the first of these Acts, because it was his first offence, as he pleaded in a petition to the Lord Justices. That he retracted, is proved as well by his dying speech and the letter he wrote to his friends on the day of execution, as by his statements to

Lord Anstruther and to Mr. Lorimer, one of his persecutors. He was therefore legally freed from the penalty of death. But no evidence was adduced of his railing upon or cursing God, or any of the Persons of the Trinity, except that of Mungo Craig, in which he was said to have called the books of the New Testament the books of the impostor Jesus Christ, and to have done it "in a scoffing and jeering manner." Aikenhead, while admitting many of the charges against him, denied the truth of Craig's evidence. The whole subject is treated fully and ably by the late Mr. Wallace in his Historical Introduction to the Antitrinitarian Biography, I. 377—384. Having mentioned the interest taken by Mr. Locke in this last instance of the punishment in Great Britain of blasphemy by death, we may adduce the interesting testimony on this point of the late Francis Horner, who had the opportunity in 1802 of examining the MSS. of the great philosopher. The passages that follow are taken from a letter written by him to Malcolm Laing, the Scottish historian. See Appendix to Horner's Memoirs.

"In a bundle of MSS. on the subject of Toleration, there is a collection of papers relative to the trial of Aikenhead, who was executed at Edinburgh in 1697, for having spoken with doubt, perhaps derision, of the holy doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. Besides full copies of the indictment, evidence, &c., there are several letters and notes which Locke seems to have collected with much care. Among these there is one letter so remarkable, that it has suggested to me the idea of giving you information of its contents. All that we know of Aikenhead's case, from the reports hitherto printed, is the melancholy fact of his judicial murder, and the violent construction of the statutes upon which he was persecuted. From the minute description contained in the authority which I am about to quote, his story acquires a more powerful claim to interest, becomes more conspicuous in the general picture of the age, and adds another deep shade to those colours which you have touched so forcibly. The paper I have alluded to is a letter from Lord Anstruther. * * The paragraph which refers to Aikenhead, I will give you at length. * * (Dated January 26, 1696-7.) 'We had lately an anomaly and monster of nature I may call him, who was execut for cursing and reviling the Persons of the Trinity; he was eighteen years of age, not vicious, and extremely studious. Fountainhall and I went to him in prison, and I found a work on his spirit, and wept that ever he should maintained such tenets, and desired a short reprieve, for his eternal state depended upon it. I plead for him in Councel, and brought it to the Chan. vote; it was told it could not be granted, unless the ministers would interced. I am not for consulting the church in state affairs. I doe think he would have proved an eminent Christian had he lived; but the ministers, out of a pious tho' I think ignorant zeal, spoke and preached for cutting him off. I find capital punishment inflicted most against crimes that disturb the society and government, and not against the heinousness of the sin against God; for lawyers say in that case, *Satis est Deum habere ultorem.* And so stealing a sheep when one is hungry, or speaking against the King, are punished by death, whereas cursing, lying, slandering, drunkenness, &c., are scarcely taken notice of by our law, but our ministers generally are of a narrow sett of thoughts and confined principles, and not able to bear things of this nature.'"

(4.) ("He was convicted and sentenced," &c.) The trial took place on the 23rd of December, 1696. But the verdict was not returned till

the following day at noon. The sentence was then (Christmas-eve) pronounced against him. He was executed on the 8th day of January, 1697, between the hours of two and four p.m.

(5.) ("The preachers who were the boy's murderers.") Amongst the preachers was William Lorimer, by birth a Scot, whose ministry was chiefly in England, but who was resident in Edinburgh, in 1696-7, at the University. He was called upon to preach before the Lord Chancellor and other judges and chief magistrates at the time of the prosecution against Aikenhead. He took occasion to discourse on Deism and other damnable errors, and to uphold the Deity of Jesus Christ. On his return to England, he found it necessary to defend himself against the charge of aiding and abetting persecution unto death. This he did in a Preface to two sermons (one of them the sermon preached at Edinburgh); and, while defending himself, states some particulars relating to the prisoner which deepen the feeling of pity for this unhappy victim of priestly bigotry, and others relative to the conduct of these wicked men, which are now known to be false. Mr. Macaulay has, we think, made use of Lorimer's statements, but as they are little known and the work is somewhat scarce we give them as a final note:

"The occasion of it (the second discourse) was this: some were said to have come from London, or from beyond seas, or from both, and to have brought with them to Edinburgh the plague of blasphemous Deism; and it is most certain that some of the youth in that city were infected with it, and were so rash and bold as openly to publish in company the blasphemous opinions which they had learn'd from their new masters, which were, it seems, so cunning as to give their disciples the premises in such ambiguous terms as the law could not reach them; but the youth understood them, and inferred the conclusion in such plain words, as gave great scandal, and raised an indignation in the hearers; whereupon the magistrates were informed, and two young men were apprehended, imprisoned, tried and found guilty of the most horrid blasphemy that ever was heard in that country. One of the two made an excuse, but humbly confessed that it was a great sin for him to have uttered with his mouth such words of blasphemy against the Lord, professed his hearty repentance, promised never to do the like again; and so the Government pardoned him, but withal ordered that he should confess his sin, and do publick penance in all the churches in Edinburgh. And I believe the other might have been pardoned also if he had followed the example of his companion; but he continued sullen and obstinate, I think for some months; and the party were said to be so very bold and insolent as to come in the night and call to him by name at his chamber window in the prison, and to tell him he had a good cause, and to exhort him to stand to it, and suffer for it bravely. This influenced the Government to execute the law, and it was no new law neither, but a law that had been formerly enacted in the time of the Bishop's Government, as I was informed. I am sure the ministers of the Established Church used him with an affectionate tenderness, and took much pains with him to bring him to faith and repentance, and to save his soul; yea, and some of the ministers, to my certain knowledge, and particularly the late reverend, learned, prudent, peaceable and pious Mr. George Meldrum, then minister of the Tron church, interceded for him with the Government, and solicited for his pardon; and when that could not be obtained, he desired a reprieve

for him, and I joined with him in it. This was the day before his execution. The Chancellor was willing to have granted him a reprieve, but could not do it without the advice of the Privy Council and Judges; and to shew his willingness, he called the Council and Judges, who debated the matter, and then carried it by plurality of votes for his execution, according to the sentence of the Judges, that there might be a stop put to the spreading of that contagion of blasphemy. But though the ministers could not prevail with the civil Government to pardon him, yet I hope they prevailed with God, through Christ, to forgive his great sin and save his soul. For, as those who were present at his execution told me, he died very penitent, pouring out his soul, with great brokenness of heart, in prayer to God in Christ, giving glory to Christ, whom he had almost blasphemously denied, and taking shame to himself, and humbly and earnestly begging of God mercy and pardon for Christ's sake.

"Whilst these things were a-doing, and he was in prison under the sentence of death, I, being called thereto, preached the 'foresaid sermon on Matt. xxi. 37, whereby it manifestly appears that I did not in the least excite the Government to severity against that poor man, but only vindicated the honour, and set forth the glory and dignity, of our most blessed Lord, and shewed people *how* and *why* they ought to reverence him; and after the same manner I dealt with himself privately in prison. * * After I had made him the first visit, at the Doctor's (Dr. Rule) desire, and after he had opened his mind and proposed his objections and difficulties to me (as I desired him), and I had answered him so as he made no reply, he immediately confessed that he had been rash and foolish, and was sorry for what he had said, and desired my prayers, and at his desire I immediately went to prayer with him in the prison; and after prayer he thanked me, and desired me to visit him again, as Dr. Rule's son, who was with me, can testify. This was about a month before he was executed, and in that interval of time I visited him several times, and had much discourse with him. And here I think fit to acquaint the world how he was caught in this snare, as I had it in effect from his own mouth. First he was tempted to doubt of and deny the Trinity, because of some difficult objections against it which he had heard and could not answer; and he was so self-conceited, and had so high an opinion of his own parts, having learned the whole course of philosophy, that he thought, because he could not, no other could answer them. Then he thought he was sure that Jesus Christ is not God; and from his not being God, and yet assuming so much to himself, he concluded that he must have been the greatest impostor that ever was in the world, and that the Christian religion is a great cheat imposed upon the world by cunning men. I am far from thinking that the Socinians who deny the Holy Trinity and the eternal Deity of Christ, are such Deists as that poor man was; yet I think the mention of this may serve for a warning to them, and to others likewise; for there seems to be but a short passage from Socinianism to Deism."—Pref. iv—vii.

This William Lorimer, who thus egged on by his vehement orthodoxy the bigots, both civil and ecclesiastical, of Edinburgh in 1696, goes on to revile the Papists and to twit them with their recourse to 'fire and faggot.' The Protestant-Popery of such men as John Calvin and William Lorimer is more offensive to reason and the moral sense than any of the multitudinous crimes of the Papacy.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. JAMES HEYWOOD ON VON BOHLEN'S EXPLANATION OF THE PARADISIACAL MYTH IN THE OPENING PORTION OF GENESIS.

Sir,

As the review of Professor Von Bohlen's Genesis, in the December number of your excellent Magazine, principally refers to the disputed question of the age and origin of the Pentateuch, it seems to me fair to the learned orientalist whose work is criticised, to mention, that in his opinion we have safe grounds for assuming that the laws of the Pentateuch arose by *slow degrees*, as the hierarchy gained a firmer footing in Palestine; that Levitical statutes were *gradually collected* in the progress of time; and that the legislatorial portions of the books of the Pentateuch possibly existed in a written form in the hands of the priests previous to the publication of the entire collection, and were at last arranged in order by the compiler of the whole.*

The rude and heroic period of the Judges appears, from the book which bears their name, to have been unconscious of the widely ramified and gorgeous sacerdotal system described in the Pentateuch; "every man did that which was right in his own eyes;" and there was no organized hierarchy in Israel. If the Levitical enactments had been in existence under the Judges, they were at that time neglected in their most essential details; nor was it until a thousand years had passed away after the death of Moses, that we find the laws of the Pentateuch observed among the Hebrew people, even to their minutest details.

Without dwelling farther on the arguments for a later date for the compilation of the Pentateuch, I am desirous to present to your readers the interpretation, by Professor von Bohlen, of one of those Hebrew narratives on which the speculations of rabbis as well as of later theologians have insensibly taken possession of the world.

Professor Tuch, whose Commentary on Genesis has been for many years adopted as a text-book among liberal theologians in Germany, thus alludes to the philosophical interpretation† of the narrative of Paradise which was carried out by Von Bohlen in his commentary on the third chapter of Genesis:

"The paradisiacal myth has been generally more profoundly understood by philosophers than by theologians: Kant and Schiller have employed the scriptural document in elucidating physiological inquiries on the progressive development of mankind; both of these philosophers correctly remark, that the myth does not represent a debasement or sinking down from original perfection to imperfection—not a victory of sensuality over reason,—but, on the contrary, it manifests the advancement of man from a state of natural rudeness to freedom and civilization. The historical individuality of Adam is no longer maintained; he becomes the general representative of humanity. On the other hand, no sufficient explanation has been given, or rather it has been left unexplained, how this advance to freedom, which is here described, can include the idea of a fall through sin; indeed, Von Bohlen wholly denies that the notion of a fall through sin is here taught; according

* Von Bohlen's Introduction to Genesis, Vol. I. p. 280.

† Ibid. Vol. II. p. 78. Remarks of Professor Tuch.

to his view, the myth only represents the elevation of man toward God. This more correct and satisfactory explanation of the mythical narrative has been first given by the philosophy of the present age."

Von Bohlen describes the writer of the narrative of Paradise in Genesis as desirous "to shew that man had been created mortal, and that he will remain mortal; and, at the same time, he wished to explain the emancipation of the first human pair from the state of mere animal existence, and the origin of various troubles, of which the cause may be traced to the striving after enjoyment; it is, however, only in the absence of these troubles that the description of Paradise can be considered to refer to the golden age."

"An intimate knowledge of human nature," continues the Königsberg Professor, "is exhibited in the narrative of man's disobedience to the command of Jehovah, and the transgression itself appears to have been intended by the narrator, in order to elevate the mortal beings whom he described: there is indeed so little allusion either to divine retribution or to the origin of moral evil, and so little reference to a fall through sin, that the object of the writer seems rather to have been the elevation of the human race towards the Deity."*

It is particularly observable that the first reference in the Hebrew Scriptures "to the tree of life," is in the Proverbs, and that the first to the narrative of this part of Genesis occurs in the Apocrypha;† no reference being found to it even in the book of Ecclesiastes, which contains so many philosophical observations on life and death.

Mortality is considered by Von Bohlen as an original characteristic of human nature. Man is described, Gen. iii. 19, as taken from the earth and intended to return to dust: the fruit of the tree of life, Gen. iii. 22, would have given him immortality, but of this he was not permitted to taste.

There is no reference in the narrative either to complete knowledge, to moral shame and lost innocence, or to remorse and awakened reason. To know or distinguish good and evil, is, in biblical phraseology, to become of manly intellect, or to receive more matured knowledge, in contrast to the unconsciousness of unweaned children.‡ Thus the old Barzillai, enfeebled by age, asks, in a physical sense, how in the weakness of his senses he can discern between good and evil:§ "I am this day fourscore years old: and can I discern between good and evil? Can thy servant taste what I eat or what I drink? Can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women?"

The newly-created man was quite childlike, and devoid of all feeling of decorum; and the narrative before us is intended to shew how this feeling was awakened, and man was raised above the animal. He is also mortal, like other creatures, although he might have obtained, through the fruit of the tree of life, a long life like that of the gods; in which case, with knowledge and this privilege, he would have become fully equal to the gods. Among the inconsistencies in the mythical narrative, Von Bohlen remarks, that man at first could not have understood

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* Von Bohlen's Genesis, Vol. II. p. 54.

† Ibid. Vol. II. p. 60. Apocryphal Book of Wisdom, ii. 24.

‡ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 39.

§ 2 Samuel xix. 35.

the prohibition, "Thou shalt die," as he had not yet had death before his eyes.*

Man, observes the Professor, had borne in his outward appearance the image which human conceptions had assigned to God: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness."† "The narrator of the second cosmogony necessarily entertained a similar idea of the external form in which man had been created, although the human being had to emerge, in the first instance, from the animal state, through the sentiment of shame, and with the aid of clothing; and as he was then merely in an animal state, it was most wisely ordained that only the tree of knowledge should be prohibited. When man enjoyed the taste of the fruit of this tree, he became like the gods; but he was not destined, like them, to attain the second divine prerogative of long life. The gods were represented as jealous, and Cherubim guarded the tree of life to prevent any mortal from reaching it."‡

I should mention that for the translation of the second volume of Von Bohlen's Genesis, I am indebted solely to the talents of my esteemed friend, Mr. John Edward Taylor, of London. A large portion of the first volume was translated by another valued friend; and throughout the whole work it has been our object simply to place before the English reader the arguments and views of an eminent and liberal German theologian, with reference, in the second volume especially, to the early chapters of Genesis.

It appears to me that various points, which may at first sight appear novel and startling, and may have been regarded by an English reader as hasty assumptions, will be found, on careful examination, to have been deduced from a minute and cautious study of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Professor Jowett, in his admirable work on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians and Romans, thus expresses himself with reference to the doctrine of the Atonement, which is closely connected with the subject already under our consideration:

"In the present day, we can no longer receive the kingdom of God as little children. The speculations of theologians have insensibly taken possession of the world; the abstractions of a thousand years since have become the household words of our own age; and before we can build up, we have also to clear away."§

In the Epistles of St. Paul, we first read in the New Testament of the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity (Rom. v. 12, 21), and it seems to have been an incidental opinion belonging to the age and country in which the apostle lived. There is direct evidence, observes Professor Jowett, "to shew that the Jews connected sin and death, and the sins and death of mankind with the sin of Adam, in the same way as the apostle." The Oxford Professor adopts a similar view to that of Von Bohlen, that "the earliest trace of such a doctrine is found in the apocryphal book of Wisdom, ii. 24." It was a farther refinement of some of the Jewish teachers, continues Professor Jowett, "that when Adam sinned, the whole world sinned; because, at that time, Adam was the whole world, or because the soul of Adam comprehended the soul of

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* Von Bohlen's Genesis, Vol. II. p. 39. † Genesis i. 26.

‡ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 52.

§ Jowett's Epistles of St. Paul, Vol. II. p. 474.

all, so that Adam's sin conveyed a hereditary taint to his posterity. It was a confusion of a half-physical, half-logical or metaphysical notion, arising in the minds of men who had not yet learnt the lesson of our Saviour — 'That which is from without defileth not a man.' That human nature or philosophy sometimes rose up against such inventions is certainly true; but it seems to be on the whole admitted, that the doctrine of Augustin is in substance generally agreed to by the Rabbis, and that there is no trace of their having derived it from the writings of St. Paul." (Jowett on the Epistles, Vol. II. p. 165.)

The origin of the doctrine of inherited sin is thus traced to the Rabbis, and Professor Jowett adds, that "the idea of the first and second Adam was familiar to the Jews in the time of St. Paul, and that one or other of them was regarded by the Jewish writers as the Word and the Messiah." (Jowett on the Epistles, Vol. II. p. 166.)

I submit these observations to yourself and to your readers, in the hope of increasing the interest already felt at the present day in the discovery of the truth with respect to the paradisiacal myth here referred to.

Headlands, Prestwich, Dec. 7th, 1855. James Heywood.

THOUGHTS ON SECULAR ATHEISM.

The following question has been addressed to the writer of the papers on this subject, together with a courteous letter asking for an "elucidation" through the pages of the Christian Reformer. This the writer is desirous of supplying, as far as he appreciates and can grapple with the difficulty expressed.

"Design.

(1.) "When any one fabricates a machine, he puts certain portions of inorganic matter under such conditions that the laws of Nature shall be called into action upon them, so as through them a certain effect shall be produced.

(2.) "But the laws of Nature are but imperfectly known, and very imperfectly too; they are known only as the causes of the phenomena witnessed upon the earth—perhaps not the causes, but only the mode by which these phenomena are effected.

(3.) "It is said these laws proceed from the mind of a Designer, from the Supreme Mind, from God Himself. But there is a law of numbers, a law of quantities, a law of figures, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, &c. These laws are independent in themselves, self-existent—do not depend on any power for their existence, and cannot be destroyed by any power, not even by God Himself, so to speak, though not irreverently.

(4.) "Now, may not the laws of Nature, Gravitation, Attraction, &c., be likewise independent? and may not the present imperfect state of our knowledge be the cause of our not perceiving that this is the case?"

Having numbered the paragraphs for the sake of reference, I observe on them *seriatim.*

(1.) But the Theistic question asks, how those *Laws of Nature* were (so to speak) *fabricated,* if it does not also ask whence the inorganic matter too came. Given, inorganic matter and physical laws,—human reason and human hands can, to a certain extent, cause or direct certain

results. But, Whence those Laws? we ask; if not also, Whence that Matter? *Ex nihilo nihil fit.* We are seeking the needful first origin, and think we find it in Mind, if not in Matter too. The Laws of Nature seem plainly to bespeak Mind, if the inorganic Matter itself does not. This is the argument used in the "Thoughts."

(2.) True. But enough is known of those Laws to bespeak Mind, either *in* them or *above* them. And a deeper knowledge of them cannot fairly be expected to shew their operation to be *Mind-less*, though it should modify (as progressive knowledge already has done) our idea (too definite perhaps) of the mode in which the Supreme Mind acts. If (as seems probable) the Laws of Nature ought rather to be called *phenomena in groups or classes*, this admission seems simply tantamount to referring us back beyond the phenomena, to the cause or agency which produces them. For *phenomena* never means *causes*, in the language of science.

(3.) The laws of number and measurement are essentially laws of *human thought*. But not so gravitation, electricity, &c. Twice five necessarily makes ten; because the idea of five twice repeated is *identical* with the idea of ten; as five marbles and five more spread out in detail are identical with the ten spread out continuously. This is the foundation of the certainty of mathematics. And the highest deductions in arithmetic and geometry come from the progressive building up of propositions which are reducible (if not reduced) at each step to *identical propositions*. Arithmetic and geometry, the sciences of quantity, are, in this respect, quite unique. They are the "exact sciences." It is different with gravitation, electricity, and all the physical sciences. So far indeed as mathematical reasoning is applied to them, they too are "exact." But their *data* are certain observed facts which are *not* necessary facts of the mind—not identical propositions. That gravitation must act inversely as the square of the distance and directly as the mass, is not an identical proposition, but a matter of observed fact—fact recondite and long unknown, and observable only to acutest experimenters. That a falling body near the earth's surface must fall sixteen feet the first second, three times sixteen the next, five times sixteen the third, and so on, is not an identical proposition, but an observed though recondite fact. And the fact is different on the surfaces of other planets, while the same general law of attraction, as proportioned to distance and mass, is believed to act there and throughout the universe. But it is no necessary law of identical thought that makes this evident. It has been learnt from scientific observation of facts to a wonderful extent, and inferred beyond *on the assumption of prevailing Order*, almost an identical assumption with that of presiding Mind.

(4.) The laws of gravitation, &c., are therefore *not* independent or self-existent (so to speak), like the laws of quantity. Our imperfect knowledge is already perfect enough to shew in what sense the laws of quantity are independent even of Divine Will; and that, in the same sense, the others are not. No added perfection of knowledge can confound this distinction.

I hope these observations have reached the meaning of the questions put to me by the candid doubter. If not, he is invited to renew his queries.

THE AUTHOR OF THE "THOUGHTS ON SECULAR ATHEISM."

CRITICAL NOTICES.

St. Paul in Arabia: or, clear Convictions the Groundwork of Manly Character and Public Usefulness. A Sermon preached before the Members and Friends of the Southern Unitarian Fund Society assembled in the High-Street Chapel, Portsmouth, on Good Friday, April 6, 1855. By Ed. Higginson, of the Westgate Chapel, Wakefield. London—Whitfield. (See C. R., Vol. XI. p. 700.)

It was a happy thought of Mr. Higginson's, and one for which we are probably indebted to his recent labours on his second volume of the Spirit of the Bible, to make St. Paul's casual citation of his sojourn in Arabia the groundwork of a discourse. The apostle's disclosure of his retirement, though made but in five words, is of wondrous power. He had to assert his authority, and he narrates his call. This was part of it, and a part we only know of from this necessity. "Immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood; * * *but I went into Arabia*" (Gal. i. 17). What light and truth comes with that! We have at once revealed what we knew must be somewhere, a counterpart of action, a complement of power; the effect of a glory, that, while it indicates its cause, shews itself also as the source of his strength. We cannot sufficiently welcome these natural human realities in our heavenly faith. Paul, like his Divine Master commissioned from the skies, full of the spirit of the call, is urged into solitude for aid.

Another truth is suggested. The brief mention, the scanty record, the incidental allusion, the unlaboured narrative, the rapid letter,—these, so far from being weak points in the Gospel history, are the strongholds of its truth, the very watch-towers of its greatness; they testify of men absorbed in event and action that was graving its history on the world, that took no thought who should tell it, whose happening was enough, whose written record should of providence and necessity come; *that* was but a transcript and a shadow.

"Paul retired into Arabia. Perhaps in one or other of its thinly-scattered towns was occasionally seen a solitary man—solitary even in crowds—of silent habits, of grave face, and thoughtful if not oppressed brow, whom no one knew, whom no one had seen before, who seemed to seek no one's acquaintance—though there was nothing of the misanthrope about him, for a gentle easy courtesy always distinguished him in those casual intercourses in which he seemed to decline nearer intimacy. He has evidently some great affair upon his mind, some great care upon his heart, which absorbs and occupies him thus. Yet it does not oppress or afflict him: it inspires him rather. And his expressive, though homely, face beams continually with kindness, and ever and anon with the enthusiasm of some ripening great resolve.

"Or perhaps he seeks more intire solitude, quite away from the hum of men, in Nature's great temple of rock and sky, or by her more ornamented green shrines and holy springs which dot the way as he journeys along, perhaps as far as to those scenes of historic interest in the Arabia where his forefathers sojourned, passing through the desert of their pilgrimage to the very Mount of Horeb in the wilderness of Sinai! And there, amid scenes of Nature's magnificence, older than the Law which was first proclaimed among them,—on the very mount where Moses saw the heavenly pattern of the Tabernacle (now about to vanish from the earth)—and where Elijah, in his day, was conscious of God in the still small voice which spake when the wind and the earthquake and the fire were past—there, amid the most solemn reminiscences

of the older faith, the newly-anointed Apostle of the Gentiles might grandly realize the approaching consummation of the Law and the Prophets in a Gospel comprehensive as the sky, and founded on principles of piety and morals everlasting as the rocks."—Pp. 9, 10.

A picture for which the introduction of the sermon had well prepared:

"— we do great injustice to the scriptural phenomena of miracle, if we omit to trace their natural and necessary effects upon the minds influenced by them. We may easily over-state their influence, for want of thoughtful discrimination. When miraculous evidences were presented to the senses and the mind of Paul, we surely do not suppose his natural faculties to have been suspended, but excited rather into earnest exercise."—Pp. 6, 7.

And again:

"[After a conversion of such circumstance], it would not be very reasonable to suppose, nor easy to realize the thought in detail, that the pupil of Gamaliel and persecutor of Stephen should forthwith have been, or should have felt himself, prepared, either in argument or in feeling, to preach that Gospel which he had just before been labouring to subvert. The deepest and subtlest requirements of our mental and moral nature tell us differently. Mind and feeling alike require time to know themselves and to trust themselves in so great a change. And if the proverbial haste and zeal of new converts is quoted against me, I reply: That the deepest and subtlest needs of mind and heart are proved by such conduct to be, in such instances, unknown. I reply: That the soundest minds and truest hearts are, on the contrary, not thus hasty to proclaim their first and still crude changes of opinion or feeling on great and solemn subjects. And I quote the history of St. Paul's conversion, which took place at the suggestion of compelling miracle, as proving by illustration from the greater to the less, from the miraculous to the ordinary, what *ought* to be the careful, cautious, self-distrusting and religious procedure of ordinary minds, when shaken from their old convictions and filled with a new zeal for newly perceived truths and duties."—Pp. 8, 9.

There was then a period and a place of calm, in which both *faith* and *duty* were alike settled. This shewn in two leading divisions of the discourse, we have weighty conclusions. We extract part of the first:

"Was this sojourn in Arabia, then, the act of an excited enthusiast, who when overtaken by lightning on his persecuting errand to Damascus, had lost his self-possession through terror, and been wrought upon by his own remorseful conscience to fancy he saw Jesus Christ in the brightness that surpassed the sun, and that he heard his voice in the thunder crying, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' Arabia would have been the best cure for such an enthusiasm. Solitude and self-communion would not have confirmed the false impressions of a moment of excitement and alarm. The desert of Jewish history, the Sinai and Horeb of the Jewish Law, would have spoken to him of Moses, not of Jesus; and from their solemn haunts he might have returned perhaps with calmer Jewish zeal, more like the spirit of his master Gamaliel, but hardly as an avowed disciple, convinced that he was called to be an Apostle, of the Crucified One. Arabia is our guarantee against mere excitement and enthusiasm."—P. 15.

From the second, we take the following:

"What with lax belief in traditionary and established creeds, what with mere conformity to world-established Churches, and what with professedly 'loose thoughts' from and for 'loose thinkers' defiant of all faiths and all philosophies, one might suppose there was no such thing as duty or conscience to be any longer recognised in the matter of forming and professing opinions. Having discovered that there is no moral obligation resting upon them to arrive at particular opinionative results (the bigot's test), how many have failed to perceive that a solemn obligation does rest upon them as regards the process of attaining a belief, and the use to be made of their belief when attained!

"Paul, retiring into Arabia, memorializes to us one part of the moral duty attaching to Opinions, namely, to *think them out* freely and fully. And Paul emerging from his retirement in Arabia, shows us the other part of morals on this head, namely, to *act them out*, to *live them* truly, consistently, bravely, generously, devoutly."—P. 16.

And the whole of this wider lesson (pp. 15 to 25) we most heartily commend to our readers. It is indeed a tract for the times. The moral obligations which attach to the FORMATION AND PROFESSION OF OPINIONS are so well put, and their non-observance, alas! so truly stated, that we cannot but wish for this occasional sermon a most wide circulation and very thoughtful perusal. We especially commend the estimate of the requisite qualifications of a religious teacher, at p. 20:

"Study and retirement must be a preliminary part of his qualification for active life. Human learning must be carefully applied to the perception of divine truth, and well-disciplined thought must review, and perhaps greatly modify, the more passive ideas of his earlier life. He had need sit at the feet of a Gamaliel, and then (with or without experiencing any fundamental change of views) think out his own thoughts in quiet like that of Arabia, before he attempts, as it were, to confound the Jews in Jerusalem, or persuade the Gentiles of Antioch, or dares to cope with philosophers at Athens."—P. 20.

And in illustration of the stern process of change of view having to be gone through by the public preacher:

"What a trial and misfortune it was for that great statesman, to whom England owes her freedom of trade, and what a damage was it to his reputation during his long fluctuation between new convictions asserting themselves in tones of awful duty, and old party impressions joining with endeared party ties—that he had to think back his conclusions in public view, and could not be spared from the arena of Parliamentary life, to mature his new convictions first, and then his new policy, in retirement!"—Pp. 20, 21.

The tendency of prevalent modes of religious thought and argument is then glanced at. And here Mr. Higginson classes together an authoritative Church, whether Catholic or Protestant, the Evangelical Church, the sceptical side of the philosophy of Intuition, as well as the non-doctrinal Church, opposed and various though they are, as alike agreeing, nevertheless, in disparaging the application of the philosophy of opinion (as applicable on other subjects) to the subject of Christianity. We wish we could enter upon the topics to which some of his instances invite us, but our limits forbid. We feel compelled, however, while grieved, to include in his remark the timid deference of the physical philosopher to the powers that be.

But we turn to the more congenial conclusion of the sermon. It is the thought with which we ourselves began, and in fact the great lesson of the whole, viz. *the value of retirement*, to the want of which the evils adverted to are to be ascribed, and to great examples of which Paul's sojourn in Arabia is a memorable addition.

"Moses in Midian; Elijah on Carmel and in Horeb; John the Baptist in the wilderness of Jordan; the Saviour tempted in the desert and retiring at other times for prayer in solitude; Paul withdrawing from Damascus into Arabia; illustrate again and again the necessity of self-communion, as felt by the highest minds, and recommend it with the accumulated force of experience. No character can be truly strong and mature without it. We need the discipline and test of occasional solitude, not merely in reference to great and momentous decisions, but to the more even course of life. High civilization is apt to make those who live constantly in society, the mere mirrors of passing objects and ideas, rather than originators of thought and duty. The

pressure of worldly work in the race of competition under such a condition of things, is apt to make our life too outward and mechanical, scarcely leaving us 'leisure to be good,' or at least not leisure to reflect on what we are doing and to find out how much better it might be done. It is therefore a fine thing for character and for happiness, to break through this routine sometimes, and from the quiet of a few days (if it may not be weeks) spent amid the holy places of Nature, to come back to daily work still haunted with lively impressions of the might of her mountains and seas, and the peace of her woody glens and rippling brooks."—Pp. 25, 26.

We fear we do injustice to the sermon by the detachment of our extracts. May we be allowed, in conclusion, to advert to a discourse, in one of the late Rev. R. Aspland's volumes, we believe on Sleep. We recollect being struck with a remark in it on the solitude of sleep, as a necessary and merciful provision for restricting us during at least a portion of our daily life to *ourselves*. So essential, nay, so commanded, is the coming to ourselves again which retirement confers.

"*Diligo solitudinem*," said Cardan, in a noble passage, which we would fain quote.* It was the discipline of the old philosophy: it is the inspiration of the Christian bard.

Ἡ μεγάλη πάιδευσις ἐν ἀνθρώποισι σιωπὴ.

Solitude sometimes is best society,
And short retirement urges sweet return.

And wisdom's self
Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude;
Where with her best nurse, contemplation,
She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings,
That in the various bustle of resort
Were all-to ruffled, and sometimes impair'd.

A Discourse delivered before the Alumni of the Divinity School of Harvard University, July 17, 1855. By W. G. Elliot, D.D. Boston (N. A.).

This is an earnest, outspoken discourse on the ministerial office. As in the old, so in the new country, it appears to be difficult to obtain in sufficient numbers the services of men able to undertake the work of the Christian ministry. Some, too, it seems, quit their office without the apology of years or sickness. Dr. Elliot passes in review the various reasons given for this *coming down* from the pulpit to the platform. 1. The difficulties and trials of the ministerial life, he argues, are not greater than those incident to other professions, and may be easily surmounted by a man of earnest heart. 2. The unceasing mental toil and the excessive expectations of congregations, are, he argues, often exaggerated in respect to the ministerial office. Ministers are not, it is true, able to do, either in intellectual or pastoral matters, all that they would wish; but where a congregation sees an unflinching application to the duties of the ministerial office, they will cheerfully give their confidence. If for the first few years the young minister is called upon to labour on an uncultivated and not very fertile soil, it is only what the young lawyer and physician, with motives of a far lower kind, are called upon to do. 3. The short and uncertain relations between pastor and people in America (four or five years being, it is said, the average duration of a ministry in the same place), are, Dr. Elliot admits, painful evidences of the restlessness of mind and love of charge which characterize his

* In a volume of the old Retrospective Review.

countrymen. He blames exclusive attention to sermon-writing to the neglect of pastoral duty, and also frequent pulpit exchanges, which he thinks make the people critical. If the minister becomes the mere weekly lecturer, he degrades, instead of magnifying, his office, and brings about the hireling feeling; but let him, in addition to good preaching, enter zealously into pastoral duty, and both he and his people will feel their bonds of union immeasurably strengthened, and the latter will know that there are services rendered them for which gold could not pay. 4. As a paying profession, Dr. Elliot admits that the ministry is a very bad one. The average salaries paid to the clergymen of all Protestant denominations in the United States, are less than the wages paid last year to the common day-labourers on the Pacific railway. He that enters on the work of the ministry under the commercial feeling of what it will bring him in, is unfit for it. The mere raising of salaries will not enhance the dignity and social status of ministers, unless their aims be high, noble and disinterested. Dr. Elliot thinks there are greater difficulties than the money question in the way of obtaining a numerous and zealous ministry. The spirit of scepticism as to the importance of the office must be removed. In preparation for the ministry, other qualifications than a cultivated intellect must be sought. The glory of the minister of Christ is his disinterestedness and self-sacrifice in doing good. He who exhibits these qualities will command respect.

Although some of the statements and arguments of this address apply exclusively to America, there is much in it which may be read with advantage by ministers and their flocks on this side of the Atlantic. Dr. Elliot, while urging on his brethren a lofty disinterestedness rising above pecuniary motives, does not forget to administer a severe rebuke to those people who reduce their minister's income to the lowest mark of possible existence, and are horrified if he falls into debt. He tells us that there are parishioners to be found who pay for the education of one child as much as the whole income of their pastor, and yet complain that their pew-tax is too high. But with perfect impartiality Dr. Elliot awards blame on both sides. He speaks with natural warmth of the conduct of those who enter the ministry without faith, and who exhibit the singular anomaly "of being the ministers without being the members of the Christian church." If such men are, surely they must be the most unhappy of men. They have the martyr's lot, without the martyr's faith and hope.

Bentleyana, or a Memoir of Thomas Bentley, sometime of Liverpool; with Extracts from his Correspondence. By James Boardman. 8vo. Pp. 23. Liverpool—Wareing Webb.

Our delay in noticing this brief Memoir has not arisen from indifference to its value. As the friend of Priestley and Seddon of Warrington, Thomas Bentley is already known to our readers. (See C. R., Vol. X. p. 622.) He was born at Scrapton, in Derbyshire, January 1, 1730, and settled in Liverpool about the time he became of age. In 1754, he married Miss Hannah Oates, of Sheffield, and some time after became the partner of Mr. Boardman, the father of our author, as a Manchester warehouseman, residing in Paradise Street, Liverpool, then a fashionable quarter of the town, deriving its name from its pleasant situation!

At this hospitable house Priestley and Brindley the civil engineer were frequent guests. Of the latter, Mr. Bentley penned the only known particulars. At Liverpool, Mr. Bentley was active in whatever would promote intellectual improvement and progress. He was one of the projectors of the Library, and, as our readers have already seen, of the Octagon chapel. He was indefatigable in his exertions to put down the Slave-trade,—a circumstance which, when the passionate and interested feelings of Liverpool at that time are remembered, shews his moral courage. In politics he was a decided liberal. He was a personal friend of Dr. Franklin, and always deprecated the conduct of the mother country to its American colonies. An accidental introduction to Mr. Wedgwood, then on a visit to Liverpool, led to a partnership between the two, and to Mr. Bentley's removal to London. There he conducted some of the initiative processes of the great manufacture at Etruria, in Staffordshire, and was particularly serviceable in obtaining specimens of antique sculpture and oriental porcelain, of which accurate and beautiful copies were afterwards executed at the Works. Mr. Bentley had occasional interviews with George III. and Queen Charlotte. He speaks admiringly of the acquaintance with business of the former, and of the engaging affability of the latter. Mr. Bentley lost his first wife, and in 1772 married Mary Stamford, of Derby, who survived him. In London he united with Mr. Williams (the founder of the Literary Fund) in composing a "Liturgy on the Universal Principles of Religion and Morality," and supported Mr. W., then in the exercise of the ministry, in an attempt made in 1776 to gather a society for worship on the principles developed in the Liturgy.* They opened a chapel in Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, where worship was conducted on the principle of Universal Benevolence, in the hope of conciliating all honest men of all Christian denominations. The scheme, as might be expected, was an entire failure. There was only one service in the day, and that began at twelve o'clock. It was subsequently to Mr. Bentley's removal to London that the experiment at the Octagon chapel, Liverpool, was abandoned. From a letter published in this pamphlet, it appears that he considered the institution had been "sacrificed," and complained that his opinion was not consulted before the final abandonment of the place. He died November 26, 1780, in the fifty-first year of his age, and was buried at Chiswick. In the church of that place, a mural tablet, the joint work of (Athenian) Stuart and the artist Scheemakers, contains an inscription recording the principal events of his life, and thus describes his character: "Blessed with an elevated and comprehensive understanding, informed in variety of science, he possessed a warm and brilliant imagination, a pure and elegant taste; his extensive abilities, guided by the most expansive philanthropy, were employed in forming and executing plans for the public good; he thought with the freedom of a philosopher, he acted with the integrity of a virtuous citizen."—The letters of Mr. Bentley added to the Memoir relate to the Chinese modellers in London in 1769; to an interesting debate in the Lords in

* Mr. Williams quitted (we believe early in life) the ministry. In 1790, his exertions in establishing the Literary Fund were untiring. He died in 1816, aged 76. He was the author of many works on education and the politics of the day, and published "A Letter to the Body of Protestant Dissenters" in 1777, advising them to more political independence and religious liberality.

1770 (containing a glowing description of Chatham's eloquence); to the presentation of the Address to the King, in 1770, by the Corporation of London; to a visit to the Queen's Palace; to the sale of the Octagon chapel, Liverpool, in 1776; to the new Liturgy in London; and to a visit to Paris. Mr. Boardman, to whom we are indebted for this Memoir, is, we believe, nephew to Dr. Clayton, of Boston, Liverpool, Warrington Academy and Nottingham.

Manchester Worthies and their Foundations. By Edward Edwards. 8vo. Pp. 88. Manchester—Galt and Co.

The worthies celebrated in this valuable pamphlet (the author of which is the Librarian of the Manchester Free Library) are, 1. Thomas La Warre, who founded the Collegiate church. 2. Hugh Oldham, the Bishop of Exeter, who founded the Grammar-school. 3. Humphrey Chetham, who founded the Chetham Hospital and Library. 4. William Hulme, who left £30 a-year for exhibitions at Oxford, since increased to the enormous sum of £5,000 a-year, the application of which exhibits some gross perversions of the founder's intent. 5. John Owens, the founder of the College which bears his name.

Mr. Edwards deduces as the moral of the narrative he has so carefully prepared, that publicity should be regularly given to the accounts of the administrators of these and all other charities. He also advocates the junction of the Free Library established in the 17th century by Humphrey Chetham, with that other Free Library recently founded by the public of Manchester, at the wise instigation of Sir John Potter.

There is much information in these pages, which bibliographers will value, as to the contents of the Chetham Library. On the shortcomings and perversions manifested in the conduct of some of the local charities and trusts, Mr. Edwards speaks out manfully. We hope the recent Acts for the better administration of Charities will be so enforced as to extort from all Trustees the publication of periodical detailed accounts. It is due to the *British Quarterly Review* to state that the germ of Mr. Edwards's pamphlet made its appearance originally as an article in that work.

Pictures of Europe, framed in Ideas. By C. A. Bartol. Cr. 8vo. Pp. 407. Boston—Crosby, Nichols and Co. 1855.

This is not a book of travels, nor a series of essays on the characteristics of European society and scenery, nor mere homilies suggested to the author on the retrospect of foreign travel. Yet the volume partakes largely of these three elements. We confess to a disappointment in it. The author often displays powers of description that make us resent the large intrusion of essay and homily in what might have been a very interesting book of travels. Again, as an essayist he exhibits many elements of success; but his thoughts are too discursive and unmethodical. The title is by no means a correct description of the book; for we have quite as many fancy sketches from the author's active and amiable mind as we have "pictures of Europe." Besides, what is the title of the long and somewhat stilted panegyric on America, occupying (276—291) more than fifteen pages, to admission into a book calling itself "Pictures of Europe"? Is this a necessary ingredient of every

American speech and book? Is the apology offered for this trite outbreak of American nationalism well founded, that Englishmen always do the same? We think not. We had marked for quotation, as specimens of the author's powers of description and disquisition, passages on the scenery of lakes and mountains, and a remarkably striking description of the Madonna by Raphael, the glory of the Dresden gallery; but we must, in deference to a large pile of books and pamphlets on our reviewer's table, put them aside and pass on to something else.

Correspondence on a Charge of Blasphemy made by the Rev. W. Standen, Curate of Lytchett-Minster, on the Rev. J. Darby, Minister at the Congregation at Organ-Ford, in the same Parish. London—Whitfield.

The Curate of Lytchett-Minster boldly avows that in his view Unitarians are blasphemers, and that he is not acting contrary to his duty as a clergyman in refusing the benefit of certain local charities to persons who attend Dissenting worship. He is mildly but effectively rebuked by Mr. Darby, who, influenced by the desire of promoting Christian righteousness, has undertaken to minister to a few Unitarian neighbours at Organ-Ford, but whose preaching is for the most part rigidly practical and in no respect controversial. Mr. Darby writes in the gentle spirit of his holy Master, and the Curate writes and speaks in the spirit of Calvin or Athanasius. The young clergy, especially in country places, too frequently run into these discreditable extremes. Yet there are Unitarians who take a pleasure in upholding the clergy as models of Christian zeal, and depreciating the labours of their own ill-supported and ill-rewarded ministers. For one Maurice or Kingsley, the Church of England produces a hundred Standens and Salts. Is it strange that such men are found in a Church one of whose symbols is the Athanasian Creed?

The Influence of Science upon Theology: a Discourse delivered to the Members of the Glasgow Unitarian Church, September 23, 1855. By Henry W. Crosskey.

This discourse, appropriately delivered by Mr. Crosskey to his hearers during the recent congress of men of science at Glasgow, contains a well-sustained plea for the natural rights of science to pursue its course unchecked by the dogmas of theology. With much ingenuity and with occasional eloquence, the author puts into contrast the principles of science and those of the popular theology. There are some grumblers who complain of the want of intellectual freedom in the Unitarian church. Let them dwell for a time in the frozen regions of Calvinism, and they will learn better to appreciate the freedom which we maintain. Mr. Crosskey says,

"I rejoice that with respect to the Unitarian church we have a strong claim upon men of science. We proclaim the original principles of Jesus Christ, the culture of *all* man's talents, and, therefore, the carrying out of unlimited scientific investigation, in unbounded faith that the discoveries of science are in harmony with the truths of God. One of the foremost names amongst us (Dr. Priestley) was a representative of the most advanced science of his day. We have no creed to place the limit of a single letter to scientific inquiry."—P. 3.

So good a sermon ought to have had on it the name of a London bookseller.

The Divine Kingdom of Nature; or a First Statement of the Principles of a Natural Faith. Lectures delivered at Finsbury Chapel, South Place. By Henry Ierson, A.M. London—Chapman.

THERE is much in the uncontroversial portions of these discourses that is true and good;—much that is in accordance with the pure teachings of Jesus. Their author puts forth his ideas as an exposition of the religion of Nature. So they may be, and yet be the religion of the Gospel. We, at least, are not open to his charge of impeaching the Almighty wisdom by speaking against Nature. What Mr. Ierson says of natural religion, we may be allowed to apply to his own treatment of revelation: "it is largely followed, but under other names." For many reasons we should wish amiable and thoughtful persons to be professed disciples of Jesus Christ; but if they cannot, from some not apparent cause, be so, we are glad that they are not in their views and hopes far from the kingdom of God and the fold of Christ.

Metrical Pieces, translated and original. By N. L. Frothingham. Boston (N. A.)—Crosby, Nichols and Co. 1855.

THIS volume of verses will not obtain for their author the honours due to a poet of the higher order, but it will amply confirm the reputation he had previously earned as a man of refined taste, gifted with fancy, and wielding with a master's art the various elements of the English tongue. His muse never attempts any ambitious flights, and though never soaring out of sight, keeps at a respectable elevation above the dead level of prose. The principal piece contained in the volume is a translation from the poem, little known to English readers, of Aratus, entitled by the translator, "The Appearances of the Stars." An extract from the Preface and from the translated Poem will not be without its interest to biblical students.

"Ovid prophesied that it should live for ever with the luminaries it described. It was translated by Cicero, who, in questioning the science of the astronomer, expressed his admiration of the poet. * * Virgil himself has frequently honoured it with his use. Above all, the Apostle to the Gentiles has invested it with a sort of religious interest by quoting from it with literal exactness, in his address to the Athenians at Mars' Hill: 'For we are even His offspring.' Doubtless it was this high authority of St. Paul that introduced his fellow-countryman—for Aratus also was a Cilician—to the Fathers of the Church. Their allusions to him, however, are short and without any pretensions to criticism.

"In later times he has been by no means neglected, as various editions of both his poems, the former of which only is here presented, abundantly testify. Hugo Grotius, before he was eighteen years old, devoted to it the first effort of his literary strength, as the great Roman orator had done before him."—Preface, pp. 4, 5.

It was not till 1848 that the "Phenomena" first appeared in an English dress from the pen of Dr. Lamb, then Dean of Bristol. The passage quoted by the apostle occurs near the beginning of the poem, thus rendered by Mr. Frothingham:

> "From Jove begin we. Let us never leave
> Him uninvoked; for full of Jove are all
> The paths of mortals; their assemblies all;
> The sea is full, the harbours—every where,

We all in all things need the aid of Jove.
FOR WE ARE EVEN HIS OFFSPRING. Kind to men,
He shews good omens; spurs to toil the nations,
Reminding of life's needs; tells when the glebe
Is best for ox and spade; what hour's propitious
To set the plant and broadcast sow the seed.
For he in Heaven these signs has firmly set,
Ordering the constellations; and each year
Appoints the stars to teach what man should do,
That all things may spring forth in their due season.
Him they propitiate, then,—Him, First and Last."

Among the original poems are some very pleasing Hymns, adapted to special ecclesiastical occasions, which will reward the attention of collectors. They are simple in phraseology and devotional in spirit. We select a poem which is very sweet.

"TO A SIGH.

"I am not ill, I am not grieved,
Pain has not wrung nor hope deceived;
Why then, thou sad, unmeaning guest,
Disturb the comforts of my breast?

Is it because so slight a bound
'Twixt joy's extreme and grief is found,
That tears so oft dim rapture's eyes,
And bliss and anguish speak in sighs?

Meek child of want, I know thee now;
A faithful monitor art thou,
To check Joy's rash impetuous car,
And shew how vain her triumphs are.

Then welcome, gentle stranger! Still
Refine my pleasures, tame my will;
Teach my uplifted heart to flee
From what is now to what shall be.
Thou dost but point me to a higher sphere
For what wise Heaven denies us now and here."

The Monthly Journal. Conducted by Charles Clarke. Vol I. 12mo. Pp. 192.

THIS little periodical is designed chiefly for the members of the Old Meeting of Birmingham, by whose minister it is conducted. It contains essays and discourses on various subjects, chiefly theological and biographical, reports of congregational meetings and proceedings, and selections from literature, old and new. Without agreeing with every opinion here recorded, we can honestly commend both the spirit and ability of a large portion of this volume. A brief history of "The Old Meeting-house," forms appropriately enough the subject of an entire No. of the Journal. We propose (with the consent of the Editor) to transfer a portion of this article to a future No. of the *Christian Reformer*.

INTELLIGENCE.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY REFORM DEPUTATION.

At the public meeting in Birmingham, on the Reform of the University of Cambridge, Oct. 30th, a deputation was appointed to confer with the Right Hon. E. P. Bouverie, M.P., who had taken charge of the Cambridge University Improvement Bill in the House of Commons at the close of the last session.

The Lord Chancellor had introduced this Bill at an earlier period into the House of Lords, and as the care of an amended measure had been entrusted to his Lordship for the ensuing session, the intended interview with Mr. Bouverie did not take place.

The deputation had an interview with Lord Palmerston on Tuesday, the 11th December, and with the Lord Chancellor on Thursday, the 13th December. Various topics referred to in the resolutions which had been passed at the Birmingham meeting were submitted to the consideration of both noble Lords, such as the importance of the appointment of a good working Commission to revise the University and College statutes of Cambridge, the expediency of directing the revised copy of the academical statutes to be in the English language, and the desirableness of abolishing oaths and religious tests. It was noticed that the only compulsory religious test belonging to the undergraduate career at Cambridge consists in the daily attendance of the students at the services of the Church of England in the College chapel, and that the first ecclesiastical subscription test occurs in that University on taking the degree of Bachelor in any one of the lay faculties.

Farther public discussion of the improvements urgently required in the mediæval and monastic institutions of Cambridge is still needed, and a public meeting on Academical Reform may probably be held at Manchester before the close of the present month of January.

The deputation in London consisted of Messrs. Jas. Heywood, M.P., W. P. Price, M.P., and Mark Philips, Rev. Thomas Madge, Rev. Jas. Martineau, Rev. J. Jenkyn Brown (of Birmingham) and Rev. J. J. Tayler, Messrs. Hull Terrell, H. A. Bright and William B. Coltman, and Dr. Foster (of London). The gentlemen assembled were representatives of Protestant Dissenters of different denominations, as well as of the liberal party in the Church, who object to religious tests both for education and for secular academical offices.

HACKNEY CHURCH-RATE.

From a mere suburban village, the parish of Hackney has grown into one of the largest and most populous districts in the neighbourhood of London, numbering now its 60,000 inhabitants. Remaining one parish for ordinary purposes, it was in 1824 divided into three distinct ecclesiastical parishes,—Hackney, South Hackney and West Hackney; and more recently, another district, Homerton, has been created a separate ecclesiastical parish. All this Church property is in lay hands (those of the Tyssen-Amhurst family, lords of the manor and owners of a large part of the soil of Hackney), and is bought and sold like any other kind of property. The three rectors of the first-named parishes are so simply by power of the purse. For many years, up to 1839, the mother parish enjoyed the spiritual superintendence of the late Archdeacon Watson, a man distinguished by no great intellectual power, but loved and honoured by all parties for his pure and blameless life, his catholic spirit, and his unostentatious but active benevolence. Contemporary with him, in the South parish, was his relative, the Rev. H. H. Norris, a man of very different temper, — amiable and generous in private life, but fierce and intolerant wherever the interests of the Church were concerned. It was to him the late Rev. R. Aspland addressed his "Plea for Unitarians,"—one of the best productions of his able pen,—occasioned by some outbreak of bigotry on the part of this clergyman in reference to Unitarians and the Bible Society. To Mr. Norris, change seemed only another name for mischief: with the utmost sincerity, and a courage which made him regardless of consequences, he opposed it with all his might. Perhaps no measure ever roused his ire more than the Marriage Bill of 1837, against which, in a printed sermon, he directed his fiercest invectives, denouncing it as an insult to Heaven and an outrage on all the decencies of social life — a mere "coupling together"—a "legalized concubinage," the offspring of which—should there really be off-

spring, of which this mild preacher expressed some doubt — would surely prove so many *curses* to their parents! Some criticisms which appeared in one of the London journals drew attention to this priestly production, and caused its speedy withdrawal from circulation.

In few places is Dissent stronger, or its professors, on the whole, in a higher social position, than in Hackney. But, of various communions, there has usually been little unanimity of action amongst them. Education, Chapels' Bill, Maynooth and other questions affecting Roman Catholics, have caused differences and estrangement. The spirit occasionally exhibited by popular Dissent has made even the Church look attractive to some not much disposed to regard it with a favourable eye. Years ago, when opposition to church-rates first commenced here, many of the more influential Dissenters stood aloof, and rather discountenanced than favoured the movement. Some, indeed, quite frowned on it; and the writer well remembers one gentleman declaring in vestry, that "no respectable Dissenter objected to church-rates."

In one of the newly-created rectories, the West, the opposition to church-rates was continued with great earnestness for several years, some of the more active opponents being Churchmen themselves. After repeated struggles, which kept that part of the parish in a constant state of agitation, the anti-rate party triumphed; and there no rate has been attempted for the last ten or twelve years. By a small addition to the pew-rents, funds are without difficulty obtained for all the purposes for which previously the obnoxious rate was imposed; and it is believed that no parties are now better satisfied with the change than those who at first the most resolutely resisted it.

In the mother parish, no serious opposition had for some time past been made to the imposition of a rate—for one reason, amongst others, that it had become almost a voluntary payment. The rate was demanded of all, but enforced against none,—the authorities thus practically exhibiting their own reverence for that *Law*, with the alleged violation of which they are so ready to taunt their opponents! This year, owing to the way in which the House of Commons had treated Sir W. Clay's Bill, a different temper prevailed, and, after consultation, it was determined to exercise the right which the decision in the Braintree case so undoubtedly gives to a majority of ratepayers in vestry.

The annual meeting for a rate was held on Aug. 30, when the attendance was unusually large, the rector, the Rev. T. O. Goodchild, occupying the chair. The churchwardens asked for a 3*d.* rate, to meet the expenditure included in the following estimate, which they presented to the meeting:

Repairs to church and churchyard, viz., bricklayer, £20; slater, £10; plumber, £20; painter, £20; glazier, £30; smith, £5; carpenter, £20; and cleaning the church ...	£135 0 0
For providing and fixing a clock with four faces in the steeple of the church	300 0 0
Also the repair of the old tower	100 0 0
Also the affixing more iron railing in the churchyard	80 0 0
Also the further underpinning the foundation of the church	150 0 0
Vestry clerk	70 0 0
Parish clerk	50 0 0
Sexton	45 0 0
Organist	84 0 0
Beadle	36 0 0
Sunday beadle	10 0 0
Six pewopeners	25 0 0
Organ-blower	5 5 0
Stoker	12 0 0
Copying registers	2 2 0
Tuning and repairing organ ..	12 0 0
Winding and repairing clocks..	15 0 0
Fees at visitation and swearing in officers	10 0 0
Sacramental bread and wine ..	10 10 0
Coals and candles for vestry and church	25 0 0
Mops, brooms, brushes, and labour cleaning out church..	20 0 0
Cleaning church steps	6 0 0
Ringers on loyal occasions ..	15 0 0
Rent and insurance of beadle's house	30 0 0
Insurance of church plate, organ, &c.	2 5 0
Poundage to the collectors of church-rate	60 0 0
Matting and hassocks	15 0 0
Two beadles' hats, clothes, &c.	14 0 0
Petty sessions' expenses	10 0 0
Church books, stationery and printing	30 0 0
Collecting arrears of rates	4 0 0
Expenses at confirmation	10 0 0
Police	2 0 0
Caps for pewopeners	1 8 0
Man in churchyard	2 12 0
Sundries	5 0 0
	£1401 6 0

The rate having been moved and seconded, an amendment to the following effect was proposed by Mr. C. Green and seconded by Mr. S. Morley:

"That objecting to the present church-rate system as fraught with many social evils, and to various items in the estimate read by the churchwarden, this meeting refuse the rate now proposed, but will readily meet by voluntary subscription any needful outlay in which the parishioners generally are interested."

On a show of hands, this amendment was carried by a great majority; and after a three-days' poll, the numbers were declared to be,

	Votes.	Persons.
Against the rate	845 —	645
For the rate	547 —	297
Majority against..	288 —	348

The contest had been conducted in a very friendly spirit, and at its close, Mr. S. Morley proposed and Mr. H. Bateman seconded the following resolution:

"That in refusing the rate proposed by the churchwardens, this vestry wish it to be understood that they are actuated by no feeling of hostility towards individuals or the Church. They adopt this as, in their judgment, the most direct way of making their emphatic protest against the existing church-rate system, and of drawing the attention of the Government and Legislature to the necessity of applying a remedy with as little delay as possible."

In moving this resolution, Mr. Morley expressed his readiness to contribute £50 a-year, for two years (by which time he hoped Parliament would have dealt with the question), towards meeting by a voluntary rate all needful parochial expenditure. Afterwards, in a private interview with the rector, the churchwardens and some of their friends, Mr. Morley and Mr. Bateman urged the desirableness of some plan being adopted to prevent further dissension, and stated their readiness to aid the object by any means in their power.

Of these courteous overtures, no notice was taken—from a misapprehension, it would seem, as to which party were first to make formal proposals! Is it unfair to suppose that a way to accommodation—or at least an attempt towards it—would have been found, if that necessary ingredient, the *will*, had not, on one side, been wanting? Much better manfully to have said so! All that transpired in reference to the subject during the next three months was, that the salaries of the church officials, from the highest to the lowest, remained unpaid. Whilst people were wondering how the churchwardens would get out of their difficulty, the usual notice appeared for another church-rate meeting on the 13th of this month (December), the reason alleged for this unusual course being, that the former decision was not a fair expression of the opinion of the ratepayers at large. Accordingly, on the 13th the ratepayers assembled, in numbers such as had never before been seen at a parish meeting in Hackney. The rector, as usual, occupied the chair. Instead of a 3*d.*, the churchwardens now asked for a 1½*d.* rate; the difference in amount being occasioned by items of a general parochial character—the clock, the old tower, the iron railing in churchyard, the underpinning of the church, &c., amounting to £630—included in the former estimate, being struck out of this, and so limiting the rate almost exclusively to special Church purposes. Such was the ecclesiastical mode of removing opposition and shewing deference to the formally-expressed opinion of the ratepayers! To the demand of the churchwardens, Mr. Isaac Sewell proposed and Mr. H. Bateman seconded the following amendment:

"Having regard to the resolution passed on the 30th of August last, in public vestry, by a show of hands, and afterwards by a three-days' poll, that the rate then proposed be refused, on the grounds that the present church-rate system is fraught with many social evils, and that the estimate laid before the vestry contained various objectionable items,—the present vestry re-affirm the principle then asserted, and refuse the rate now proposed, the estimate just read being even more objectionable than that submitted to the last vestry."

This was carried by acclamation; and after another three-days' poll, during which Hackney exhibited all the signs of a sharply-contested political election, the numbers were stated to be,

	Votes.	Persons.
Against the rate....	1299 —	1001
For the rate	882 —	503
Majority against..	417	498

On the former occasion, the announcement of the result was received without any expression of feeling; now, in a room crammed and overflowing, cheer after cheer followed the declaration of the poll.

The result settles the question of compulsory church-rates, so far as this division of Hackney is concerned. Churchmen allege that they have been beaten less by the strength of their opponents, than by the indifference or hostility of many of their own friends. Little comfort there would seem to be in this conclusion, which is probably not without some foundation of truth. The one ecclesiastical division of Hackney is still further divided into two or three ecclesiastical *districts*, having each its own church and minister to support, and at the same time being assessed to the rate for the exclusive use of the mother church. No wonder the inhabitants of these districts should be indisposed to tax themselves for a church which they never enter, and from which they derive no kind of benefit. To them, the mother church is only a hard step-mother, demanding support, but rendering no service. Good use was made of this view of the case, by the opponents of the rate, during the late contest. "Look," they said, in an Address which was sent to every rate-payer,—

"Look at the operation of the system, as it affects Churchmen themselves, in our own parish. Stamford Hill has its own episcopal chapel, Clapton and Dalston their own district churches, supported—and efficiently supported—by the resident inhabitants of the respective localities. Besides the ordinary expenses of public worship, they have to maintain their own clergymen, and, in addition, to pay the building rate—now more than half a century old!—for the mother church. Is it just or reasonable to compel them also to pay towards the ordinary expenses of this same mother church, attended as it is by the largest and wealthiest congregation within the parish of Hackney, who have nothing but their own incidental charges to meet, their rector being amply provided for by his tithe commutation rent-charge?"*

So heartily was this appeal responded to, that in the district of Dalston, whilst 567 votes were given against the rate, only 62 were recorded in its favour! Even regular attendants at the mother church voted against the rate. One vote in particular attracted considerable attention from both parties; it was that of a venerable man, warmly attached to the Church, who, from long residence and as a county magistrate, is held in general esteem; he registered his vote in opposition, assigning as a reason his desire to see the question settled, and avowing his opinion that, after the trifling with it by the Legislature, there was now no other course left for accomplishing the object.

Throughout this contest, the one sole argument used by the supporters of the rate was—The Law! the Law!—don't set the Law at defiance! They indeed had no love for a compulsory rate, only the Law was so peremptory! Did they by such talk really cheat themselves, or was it used merely to cheat others? They could hardly be so uninformed as not to know that by far the larger portion of items included in their estimate was not only not required by Law, but was a gross perversion of Law, at which even such a Churchman as the Bishop of Exeter would not hesitate to cry, Shame! But even admitting their view of the Law to be the right view, might they not profitably ponder a saying of one of their own fine old divines—"No man is worse than his word for being better than his word." Is any man the less loyal to Law for being better than the Law requires him to be?

REFUSAL OF THE RITE OF INTERMENT AT NORTON.

The following strange proceeding of a clergyman in Derbyshire has been for some time before the public, but we have only recently been able to obtain the documents (which are printed in four Nos. of the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*), and now record the facts briefly in our columns.

Our readers scarcely need to be told that the old Sheffield family of Shore, long known to hold Unitarian senti-

* The building rate above referred to is for the mother church, the churchwardens' rate for which has just been refused. A financial history of this church would be a startling document. Under the authority of *three* successive Acts of Parliament, commencing in 1790, £25,000 was raised, on bonds and annuities, for its erection. From that time to this, the parish has been annually taxed for payment of the interest of the money thus borrowed,—a regularly constituted board existing for the purpose,—and it will continue to be taxed till the year 1875, when the last annuity expires.—An Established Church ought certainly to be productive of much social good; for nobody can deny that its machinery is very costly.

ments, has for generations been settled in the parish of Norton. For more than a century, Norton church has been the family burial-place. The present members of the family have been on very friendly terms with the vicar of Norton, the Rev. H. H. Pearson, as well as with his father, the late vicar, whom he succeeded. The death of Miss Maria Theodosia Shore, of Meersbrook, youngest daughter of the late Samuel Shore, Esq., took place in September. The family proposed that her interment should take place, according to their custom, at Norton church. But, strange to say, Mr. Sale, the curate of the parish, in the absence of the vicar, gave them to understand that he should refuse to read the funeral service over the deceased, because she was an Unitarian. It was at the time understood that the vicar adopted and sanctioned by letter the conduct of his curate. In consequence of the curate's refusal to read the service on the occasion, the deceased lady was interred in the cemetery at Sheffield. Public opinion was prompt in its expression of indignation at this outrage on the feelings of a most estimable family. Members of the Church of England came forward in various ways to express their deep concern at what had taken place, and their opinion that, if the curate had not violated the law, it was time for the law and the formulas of the Church to be altered. Roused by the storm of indignation, the vicar, Mr. H. H. Pearson, writes a letter, stating that he did not object to the burial of Miss Shore in Norton church, nor to any clergyman taking the service, and that, had he been at home, he should have himself performed it. The vicar at the same time shabbily ascribes the conduct of his curate to "a misunderstanding." The matter was put on its true footing by a clergyman of much experience and high respectability, who addressed the public on the subject under the style of a "Rural Dean." An extract or two from his letter are well worth preserving.

"The clergyman acted quite illegally, and has thereby rendered himself amenable to censure for his refusal. I apprehend, however, he is secure, in consequence of the well-known kindness and forbearance of the amiable family whose feelings he has outraged. What I say is on the authority of one who certainly may be taken as a sound expositor of the law as it affects the English Church, the late venerable Archbishop of Canterbury. When I was visiting him at Lambeth Palace, a few years before his lamented death, I happened to mention a case somewhat similar that had happened two or three days before in my own parish; dissimilar, however, in two points, viz., that the Unitarian lately deceased was not a member of an ancient and respected family, but a poor labouring man; and that instead of being turned away from the door of the church, he was charitably admitted within her sacred precincts. The Archbishop, in the course of the conversation to which I allude, told me that a clergyman of the Church of England was bound to perform the funeral service of the Church over a Unitarian, the baptismal form of words used in the Unitarian communion being identical with our own; water being poured on the infant in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost."

It is, we think, to be regretted that the family whose feelings were so cruelly wounded by the bigotry of an ignorant curate, did not, as a matter of public principle, take proceedings against the offender. As neither the vicar nor the ordinary of the diocese has publicly administered to him the rebuke he so well deserves, and as he himself has not offered the poor atonement of an apology, it would be well that he should be made to feel the weight of the law which he has violated.

A JUDGE REBUKED BY A CHAPLAIN.

The letter and extract which follow are taken from a recent No. of the *Liverpool Albion*. Mr. Hull is the chaplain of J. Pemberton Heywood, Esq., the present High Sheriff for the county of Lancaster.

Sir,—It is reported in the Liverpool newspapers of this morning, that Mr. Justice Wightman, when passing sentence of death upon the wretched man Jonathan Heywood, for the deliberate murder of the woman with whom he had for some time cohabited, by cutting her throat in the bed in which she was sleeping with him, made use of the following words—"Let me earnestly entreat you to make the best use of the very short time that will be allowed to you in this world, and endeavour, by earnest prayer and sincere repentance, to obtain from your Redeemer in heaven that mercy which you denied to your victim on earth." These are the words stated in the *Liverpool Journal*. I have known many other Judges make use of similar words on the like melancholy occasions. During the performance of

my duty as chaplain to the High Sheriff, I took the liberty of stating my sentiments as to the course which it is advisable that the Judges of the land should follow when performing this their most painful office; and I have good reason to believe that Her Majesty's Judges of Assize, before whom I uttered my sentiments, acquiesced in the soundness of them. I request you to publish in your paper, on Monday next, the following extract from one of the sermons which I delivered before the Judges at one of the previous assizes. I cannot think that so intelligent and deep-thinking a Judge as all know Mr. Justice Wightman to be, will differ widely from me as to what I said. I consider it my duty to make this request of you. EDWARD HULL.

"How often do we hear that miserable beings doomed to forfeit their lives by the laws of their countrymen who have passed their days in an unbroken course of iniquity, till the hand of justice has overtaken them—how often do we hear that these wretched beings spent the days just preceding their execution in a state of undisturbed tranquillity—that they viewed the fatal scaffold with a serenity and fortitude which would have become the holiest martyr to the truth, and that they passed out of time into eternity in full assurance of obtaining salvation and joining 'the spirits of just men made perfect' in the realms of bliss! With few exceptions, such are the accounts laid before us of the last moments of condemned malefactors. Now, why do these men leave the world with an assurance of future bliss, which even the most righteous part of mankind dare scarce venture to entertain? It must arise from the ministration of their spiritual advisers. The spiritual adviser, when he first enters the condemned cell, sees before him a sinful fellow-creature, reduced to the lowest depth of human wretchedness. His feeling of compassion is excited to its highest pitch. His judgment is driven from her seat; and, in order to alleviate the agony of the guilty sufferer, arising from the fear of death and perhaps of what may come after it, he deals forth that consolation which the Scriptures do not authorize him to impart, and which, in his calmer moments, he would not venture to administer. He leads him to believe that all the iniquities of his misspent life will be washed away by the tears of his penitence, and that, if he will only put his trust in the mediation of his Saviour, whose righteous precepts he had unceasingly violated until he was incarcerated in the house of woe, all will be well with him, and he shall enter into 'the kingdom prepared for the righteous from the foundation of the world.' I have even known some of the judges of the land, under the pressure of strong sympathy, when performing the painful task which their office imposes upon them, hold out what I cannot but consider very injudicious encouragement to the worst of men to put their trust in God's mercy and hope for the joys of heaven. The punishment of criminals by death is only justifiable as a means of deterring other men from the commission of heinous crimes; and this punishment ought not to be deprived of its terrors by the holding out of irrational and unscriptural hopes of happiness in another world to those whose crimes have been judged to render it expedient that they should not be suffered to live any longer in this. The holding out of such hopes cannot but be pernicious to their guilty companions, and tend to prevent the diminution of crime. With great deference to the judgment of these high officials of the law, I would submit to them whether, after having discharged the painful duty of their office, it would not be more conducive to the cause of religion and the interest of society, if they were to refrain from encouraging such men to entertain such hopes."

OBITUARY.

Nov. 5, at Newbury, Berks, aged 84, Mr. MANASSEH JAMES, only son of the late Rev. David James, formerly minister of the Presbyterian chapel in that town. On the Sunday week following his decease, a funeral sermon, founded on Heb. xi. 4, was preached in the Unitarian chapel, to a large and deeply sorrowing audience, by the Rev. Frederic R. Young, minister of the chapel. The many friends, far and near, of Mr. James will, perhaps, accept the concluding sentences of the sermon, in lieu of an elaborate and lengthened obituary. They tell their own tale.

"The discourse to which you have now listened, owes its delivery to a circumstance which has brought sorrow to many hearts, and cast a painful gloom over the members and friends of this

religious society. I refer, as you will readily suppose, to the lamented decease of the late Mr. Manasseh James, who for the unusually lengthened period of eighty-four years was a native and inhabitant of this town. During that time he was elected to the office of a Town Councillor, and at his death was one of the Trustees of the municipal Charity Estates. We record with thankfulness his honourable discharge of the duties of a citizen, and the universal esteem in which he was held by all classes of the community. It was touching to notice, as he passed up and down our streets, how friends and neighbours vied with each other in their expressions of regard for him, and their solicitude for his health and welfare. We feel glad that he was enabled so to act, and that he was thus rewarded.

"But it is chiefly as a member of our Unitarian society that I would now speak of our departed friend and brother. The only son of one (the Rev. David James) who for forty years was pastor of this church, and whose dust reposes beneath this pulpit, Mr. James was of course born of Unitarian parents and educated in Unitarian principles. The creed of his childhood became the creed of his manhood, and few of us are able to offer more or better reasons for our faith than was our friend. I have heard from his own lips that he had carefully and conscientiously studied the points of difference which separate us as a religious body from all other bodies of Christians, and that it was his deliberate conviction that Unitarian views of Christianity are thoroughly scriptural, reasonable and pure in their tendencies. How consistently, earnestly, and withal lovingly, he advocated those views, by pen and word and deed, we all know. His religious opinions were unpopular, but he had made them his own by study and experience; and when the love and zeal of other Unitarians grew cold, and their influence was given to the side of parties and opinions more generally honoured and received, that they might sail through life with greater ease, he still continued, with a brave and beautiful sincerity all his own, to 'hold fast the form of' what he believed to be 'sound words' and 'the doctrine according to godliness.' In this, as in other respects, 'he being dead yet speaketh' to us. May we imitate his faithfulness and zeal and charity! My own personal acquaintance with Mr. James commenced with the present year only, but has been of sufficient duration to enable me to know and feel acutely that by his death our town has lost a worthy and useful inhabitant, and this society an ornament, a counsellor, a friend and a father. As he sat in his accustomed seat in the sanctuary, his very presence, with his silvery locks, seemed a holy benediction on my youthful labours, and an inspiration to us all. But he is gone! The aged limbs are now at rest; the eyes that beamed with so much cheerfulness and love are now closed in death; the kindly voice that so often uttered its friendly words of consolation, advice and warning, is now stilled! It will no more be our privilege to unite with him on earth in the worship of our Father, or meet with him around the sacramental table spread to celebrate a Saviour's love; but he has left behind him the memories of a saintly life and heroic example to console us in our sorrow and win us to a like course of truth and righteousness. Light be the sod and green the grass and sweet the flowers that cover his grave; and when, in days to come, we repair thither, may gentle and reverent thoughts of him and trust in God be ours!

His youth was innocent: his riper age
Mark'd with some act of goodness every day;
And watch'd by eyes that loved him, calm and sage,
Faded his late declining years away.
Cheerful he gave his being up, and went
To share the holy rest that waits a life well spent.

That life was happy; every day he gave
Thanks for the fair existence that was his;
For a sick fancy made him not her slave,
To mock him with her phantom miseries.
No chronic tortures rack'd his aged limbs,
For luxury and sloth had nourish'd none for him.

And I am glad that he has lived thus long,
And glad that he has gone to his reward;
Nor can I deem that Nature did him wrong,
Softly to disengage the vital cord.
For when his hand grew palsied, and his eye
Dark with the mists of age, it was his time to die.

To the members and friends of Mr. James's family who are now called upon to mourn his loss, I desire, with all tenderness and respect, to present in

my own name and that of this church and congregation our most heartfelt sympathy. We pray that they may receive support from 'the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort,' and that what we and they now 'sow in tears,' we may all one day be privileged to 'reap in joy.'"

Nov. 18, at Park Lane, near Wigan, aged 91 years, MARY LOWE, relict of the late Benjamin Lowe, of the same place. She moved in the lowly walks of life, but was a respectable member of the Park Lane congregation; and in her humble capacity, she went about doing good, being the Hebrew midwife of the district and the nurse of the sick, shewing great tact in the discharge of her various duties, and being ever ready at her post when required, ever attentive, patient and considerate. She, unhappily, had not the ability to read, or, with her good dispositions, she might have been much more useful. But she had laid up in her mind a considerable store of scriptural knowledge, with other kinds of knowledge; and her conversation, in her peculiarly quaint style, was generally interesting and improving. She would describe graphically (especially with her pipe*) ancient sayings, and ancient doings, and she loved to dwell upon them. She was deaf towards the latter part of her life, and this interest in a great measure ceased.

It was remarkable that though she had attained to the extreme age of 91 years, yet her face comparatively was not much wrinkled; and after death her cheeks were as plump as almost any person's in good and robust health. She had, however, long been infirm, and for some length of time it had been a difficult matter to move her from place to place; for she was rather portly and heavy, though not tall—indeed, low of stature. She had enjoyed a good constitution; and her disposition to do good and live in charity with all mankind, added to this, her life was extended to so unusually a long period. For as nothing, perhaps, so much frets life away as a bad spirit, so nothing, perhaps, so much tends to lengthen it as a good spirit.

Nov. 25, in his 67th year, WILLIAM LAWRENCE, Esq., an Alderman of London. Of this gentleman, so useful in public life, and so consistent and zealous in his religious profession, we hope to receive some further account.

December 4, at his residence, the Wylde, Bury, EDMUND GRUNDY, Esq., a Deputy-lieutenant, and one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, for the county of Lancaster, in the 70th year of his age.

The event here recorded is a severe loss, not only to the family of the deceased, but also to a wide circle of warmly-attached friends, to the congregation of which he was for so long a period an active member, and to the town in which he lived. While those who knew him require no memorial to keep the remembrance of him alive in their hearts, and cannot be told what he was so well as they already feel it, it is notwithstanding desirable to place on record some sketch of a character in itself singularly powerful and beautiful, and also well calculated to serve as an example to the wealthy laymen of the Unitarian denomination.

The late Edmund Grundy was born, Dec. 31, 1785, at Bury, Lancashire, and always resided in that town, where his family had been respected and influential for many generations. He was engaged in the woollen manufacture with his brother John, who was ten years his senior; and by the activity and talents of the brothers, the firm attained a high position in the commercial world. The habits of punctuality, order and promptitude, the clear judgment and steadiness of purpose, which form a good man of business, were conspicuous in Mr. Edmund Grundy. Possessing a genial, hearty love of society, with a rare talent for adorning social life, by his demeanour of cheerful kindness and his conversational powers,* he found his companionship sought and valued by all who had once experienced its advantage and delight. The same heartiness of character made him an ardent and enthusiastic lover of field sports, which he pursued as one of his

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* An antidote to infection.

* He told Scotch anecdotes with great power and vivacity, having travelled much in that country, and having a great partiality for its people. Few Englishmen attain his power of speaking Scotch, and he could even distinguish the dialects of the different districts, and could tell immediately from what part a man came. When he met with Scotchmen in England, they often took him for a countryman, when he amused himself with addressing them in their own tongue.

greatest pleasures. But it is to be noticed that he never allowed such amusements to interfere with his duties, often rising in early life at four in the morning to get the day's business done in time for joining the hunt. Nor was he less interested in the more refined pleasures of literature and art; and especially in music, his natural taste, cultivated by long practice, enabled him to find one of his principal means of relaxation.

But we must look yet deeper to understand the brightest beauties of his character. He uniformly acted the part of manly, conscientious integrity. His principles were carefully formed,—not the result of accident, prejudice or caprice, but his own, thought out and arrived at for himself and acted up to with a stanch fidelity. Whatever loss or suffering it might seem likely to occasion, he never faltered or wavered, but went straight onward in the path of duty. Yet he was not one of those to whom contest is a delight. On the contrary, his steadfast integrity was not more striking than his tenderness of feeling, his love of peace and concord. While his home affections were especially tender, his heart was large enough for all. Every local charitable institution received his ready and liberal help. The Bury Athenæum is peculiarly indebted to his valuable support. The schools connected with his own manufactory were a subject of lively interest, which he shewed by personal inspection and examination of the scholars. One of his last public acts was to take an active part in the establishment of the Bury Industrial School. His private charities perhaps no one person can enumerate, for he let not his left hand know what his right hand did; but the widow and the orphan who now bless his memory, the lowly ones whom he raised, and the weak ones whom he strengthened, will not forget what they owe to him. He was quick to discern where there was weakness or want, and the mere presence of these demands on his sympathy secured his ready help, which was always offered with an open kindliness of manner, far removed from distant haughtiness and from offensive condescension. His friendships were very strong, and his early friends, of whatever rank or condition, were never forgotten. He had a singular power of making friends of those dependent on him, and the feelings his death has occasioned in the breasts of his old servants testify to the fact; while as an employer he shewed such an evident zeal for the interests and regard for the feelings of his work-people, as secured their good-will and affectionate respect. He had not a single enemy. When the eye saw him, it blessed him. When the heart knew him, it loved him. "The blessing of the perishing came upon him, and he caused the widow's heart to sing for joy." By his example and his kindness, he comforted and sustained the aged; by his counsel and his friendship and his moral influence, he led young men into lives of integrity and usefulness. With a smile of fatherly affection, he greeted little children, and thought none too young to receive his attention and kindness.

Thus did our departed friend unite with the best characteristics of an enlightened tradesman, and of a genial, warm-hearted sportsman, the distinctive features which mark the accomplished gentleman, the conscientious, honourable man, the large-hearted philanthropist, and the general benefactor to his fellow-creatures. He crowned all by being a consistent Christian. Wherever he went, he took the thought of God with him. His private piety was sincere and ardent. His attention to the public services of religion was unwavering. Through the whole of his life, he worshipped statedly on one spot, in three successive chapels; and whenever public service was celebrated there, if health permitted, he was sure to be present. He took an active part in the management of the musical portion of the services, and to the last retained his seat in the choir. Every connected institution had his personal as well as his pecuniary support. He did not set others to work as his proxy, but put his own hand to the plough, and having done so, never looked back. Especially in the Sunday-school he was an unwearied labourer, from the time of its establishment. His influence for good as a teacher in this school may be understood, when it is mentioned that many of its present teachers were once his scholars; and that as long as health permitted him, even with difficulty, he was *always* present when school opened in the morning, prepared, if the minister were absent, to offer the opening prayer, and ready to teach, superintend, or perform any duty that wanted attending to. Seldom do we find a man in his position, with his wealth and at his age, so unwearied in the work of a Sunday-school.* So in the chapel, he

* It may be noticed that, in both school and chapel, he never sought to

shrunk from no labour, and was unfailing in his interest and activity. For fifty years he never missed attending the annual congregational dinner. Every quarter he was present in the vestry, at the appointed time, to collect the pew-rents. And by this careful attention to even little duties, this active and unwearied personal co-operation, as well as by his strong interest and friendship for all the members, he earned the title of the Father of the Congregation. To his minister he was an unfailing friend, always interested in his pursuits and duties, always ready to advise, support and assist. How valuable his aid and friendship were, successive ministers have experienced.

This attention to religious ordinances and congregational interests arose from the presence of religious conviction and devout feeling in his heart. Full as he was of an all-embracing charity, he had no sympathy with that vague indifferentism which, under the name of unsectarian liberality, professes to have and to care for no fixed opinion on disputed points of doctrine. By inheritance and by habit a sturdy Nonconformist, he had thought and decided for himself on religious matters, and was in belief a Unitarian Christian. Without a shade of bitterness towards any human being, however different from his own might be his opinions, he declared with manly steadfastness his own belief, he took an active interest in all denominational matters, he never shrank in any company from declaring himself one of the unpopular sect. He clave to these opinions to the last. Loving them through life, he seemed to love them better and treasure them even more when life was nearly over. They had been his guide in this world, they were his support when he prepared for the world to come. And if any man doubt the right of Unitarians to participate in the Christian name, or question the power of our faith to raise the soul to God, we may point to the life so lately ended, to the character now delineated, and may say, "This Christian man was a Unitarian."*

Such a life, such an influence, as his were, shew the possibility of uniting a proper attention to the duties and pleasures of this world, with a care for spiritual interests and a preparation for the world to come. They are a practical proof of how much may be done by wealthy and educated laymen, who do not leave religious concerns to be cared for exclusively by their minister, but know it is their business, as well as his, to attend to the interests of their congregation. May those who remain labour to fill up the vacant places of the departed, and by a similar earnestness and activity prove that they have as real a love for religious Truth and Duty!

December 12, at his residence, West Dingle, near Liverpool, in his 76th year, Joseph Brooks Yates, Esq. He was one of the oldest merchants of Liverpool, having been engaged in commercial pursuits in that town for a period of fifty-four years. He was the eldest son of the late Rev. John Yates, the well-known and much-respected minister of the English Presbyterian congregation then assembling in Paradise-Street chapel. He was one of the first pupils of the late Rev. William Shepherd, LL.D., of Gateacre, under whose able direction many of the most influential and respected members of the neighbouring community received their early training. He was afterwards a distinguished scholar at Eton, and the classical studies in which he was thus initiated remained a source of instruction and gratification to him throughout his busy and successful life. He was a remarkable instance of a man of business, actively and closely engaged in commerce, yet finding time to keep up and carry on literary and philosophical pursuits. He was one of the original members, and for several years President, of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society, and, bearing with him the remembrance of its palmy days in the time of Roscoe, Currie, Traill and Shepherd, he remained a constant and devoted attendant on its meetings and contributor to its proceedings, to the last year—we may almost say to the last month—of his life. He had much pleasure, also, in occasionally bringing

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dictate or control; he was willing to work as one among many, and to consult with others as to any steps to be taken, not wishing to assume any undue authority.

* In one of the last visits I paid Mr. Grundy, while he was able to converse, I found him sitting up in bed and reading the Christian Reformer, in which he pointed out to me an apparent error in a date, which he thought must be a misprint;—so strong was his interest in denominational matters, and so quick his perception, within a few weeks of his death.

its members together in social intercourse by inviting them to share the hospitalities of his own home. His scholastic habits of mind made him an early and constant friend of the Liverpool Athenæum and Royal Institution, with its connected School and permanent Gallery of Art. He was also a member of the Royal Geographical and Archæological Societies, and of the Chetham Society in Manchester. He took an active interest in the British Association for the Advancement of Science, of which he was the local Vice-president at its late brilliant meeting in Liverpool, in September, 1854. He also attended its recent meeting in Glasgow in September last, and contributed to its proceedings. His taste in art was manifest to all who enjoyed his hospitality, in the beautiful situation and classical design of his mansion at West Dingle, and in the rare works of the old masters which adorned its interior. His library contained many curious manuscripts and early black-letter editions, and was peculiarly rich in Books of Emblems, some portions of a history of which he contributed to the Transactions of learned societies, and many materials for the completion of which he had accumulated and arranged, with the intention of giving them to the world as a complete work.

These various occupations and pursuits, however, did not absorb his interest to the neglect of the charities of his native town, to most of which he was a liberal contributor, and of one of which, the Southern and Toxteth Hospital, he was to a considerable degree the founder. For the first eight years of its existence he was its President, and to the end of his life continued to take a generous and active interest in its welfare.

In his religious opinions he adhered, from deliberate conviction, to the body of Nonconformists with which he was connected by birth and early training. He was a constant attendant at the services of the Ancient chapel of Toxteth Park and a liberal supporter of the Liverpool Domestic Mission. He subscribed largely towards the effort to extend the operations of Manchester New College when removed from York, and more recently gave his aid to the establishment of University Hall in London. With the natural instinct of a man of business, he was somewhat impatient of obscurity and failure, and always attracted by confident and successful energy. But though this tendency of mind might at times cause him to appear indifferent towards some of the movements and efforts of those with whom he professed doctrinal sympathy, his tenderness of feeling betrayed itself by the emotion which invariably overcame him whenever he had to utter his sentiments on touching themes, as in reading a hospital report, a tribute to the memory of the honoured dead, or an expression of religious hope.

His hospitable reception, in June last, of the members of the Provincial Assembly of Ministers of Lancashire and Cheshire, at his own house, will be fresh in the recollection of all who were present.

On nearly the last occasion of his presence in his accustomed place of worship, he took a leading part in discussing the question as to the British and Foreign School Society, condemning the breach of trust committed, though strongly doubting the feasibility of rectifying it by Chancery proceedings.

Within the last year, as though conscious that his time of departure was drawing near, he retired from business, but continued to devote much time to his duties as a county magistrate, which he discharged with judgment and impartiality.

Few men have been more completely identified through life with the town and trade of Liverpool. Though occasionally travelling with members of his family in quest of intelligent recreation, he was never long absent from his native haunts, and Liverpool, in the growing greatness of which he took a townsman's pride, was the constant home of his interests and thoughts. It may be truly said of him that "he *lived* all the days of his life." He was occupied with his usual engagements and pursuits until within a very few weeks of his death. After a long, temperate and healthful life, he was seized with an inability to receive nourishment, under which he gradually sank, without pain, until the powers of nature were exhausted. His departure will be deeply felt, not only by the wide circle of relatives and friends with which he was connected by family and social ties, but also by the many institutions and societies to the support of which he contributed, and by the community at large, who have lost in him a liberal and influential member, and a time-honoured native of "the good old town."

J. R.